

# CICERO

AGAINST

## Catiline,

*Mandy*

IN

*Falsely*

### IV. *Invective Orations.*

Containing the whole manner of  
discovering that Notorious  
**CONSPIRACY.**

Done into English

By CHRISTOPHER WASE.

Id. Cic. — *Concedat Laurea Lingua.*

Plin. lib. 7. cap. 3. in fine.

*Salve primus omnium Parens Patriæ appellate, primus in toga triumphum, linguæque lauream meritis, & facundia Latinarumque literarum Parens, atque (ut Dictator Cæsar hostis quondam tuæ de te scriptis) omnium triumphorum lauream adeptus imperem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos tantam promovisse, quam imperii.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by T. N. for Samuel Lowndes over against  
Exeter House in the Strand. 1671.





woul : 101 To the Worshipful

**JOSEPH WILLIAMSON**

*Esquire, Secretary to the Right Honourable  
the Lord ARLINGTON (Principal  
Secretary of State) Keeper of His Majesties  
Papers of State, and a Member of the Ho-  
nourable House of Commons in Parliament.*

**S. I R,**

**T**His small Essay does in  
Justice and Gratitude  
address it self to your  
Hands, being the Pro-  
duct of a few Spare-hours while I was  
conversant about some Occasions of  
yours, *which time you were pleas'd  
to express that you put to your Ac-  
count, while employ'd to my own Be-  
nefit.* Of what prodigious Parts this  
Author was, and indefatigable in-  
dustry,

dustury, how grave a Senator, how profound a Politician, how uncorrupt a Magistrate, it needs not that I tell you; nor whether as Tully is worthily accounted the Chief of Orators, so these Consular Invectives may not be esteem'd the very Flower of all his Orations. My part is, because I am conscious how hardly those advantages can be discern'd through a gross and cloudy Translation, to find out a Competent Judge of such Labours, and a favourable Advocate to excuse the insuperable defects in rendring Languages each by other, which are often inadequate, and in signification, credit, phrase, variety, incommensurable one with the other. Spirits that are  
most

how most delicious, we find to be most volatile, and hardly endure the transportation. Patterns may be with less difficulty match'd for the Cloth than the Colour. *Tully* however cannot be so rudely handled, but an artificial Method, strong Arguments, and divers Figures both of Words and Sentence will discover a sound Constitution. The Change of Customs, Different Laws and Humors may somewhat darken the Complexion: Yet my hope is through all will be discern'd *Tully*. But why do I flatter my self to think that you can find leisure from publick and weighty Business to arbitrate in these Scholastick and lighter Speculations? Therefore having first begg'd that your prudent

W. A. O. B. and

*Epistle Dedicatory.*

and painful endeavours may be still  
successful and accepted to the acqui-  
ring new Talents ; which you so  
faithfully improve ; and for my self  
requesting to hold such place in your  
esteems, as a mind ever-studious to  
be truly thankful, may render me  
capable of, I take leave to remain

**SIR,**

**Your humble Servant**

**and Honorer**

**CHR. WASE.**

Some Ancient Testimonies  
concerning these Orations.

**C**ic. in Orat. de se ipso. *A nobis homo  
audacissimus Catilina in Senatu accusa-  
tus obmutuit.*

**Sal** in Conj. Cat. *Tum M. Tullius Con-  
sul, siue presentiam ejus timens, siue ira  
commotus orationem habuit luculentam atque  
utilem Reip. quam postea scriptam edidit.*

**C. Velleius Patercul.** l. 2. 34. *Catilina  
metu consularis imperii urbe pulsus est.*

**Plin.** l. 7. c. 30. *Sed quo te M. Tulli per-  
iculo taceam? -- Tuum Catilina fugit inge-  
nium.*

**Quintil.** lib. 2. c. 17. *Annon divina M.  
Tullii Ciceronis eloquentia -- Catilinæ fremit  
audaciam?*

**Mart.** *Dixeras O Mores, O Tempora Tu-  
lius olim*

*sacrilegum struere cum Catilina nefas.*

*The*

**The Contents of the Four ensuing Orations, wherein the Consul**

**I. Adviseth Catiline, then present in the Senate, to forbear the Town.**

**II. Encourages the People, by extenuating the Forces of the Rebel, and reclaiming the secret Complices.**

**III. Reports to the People the particulars of the discovery of the Plot, with the Arraignment and Conviction of the Conspirators at the Bar of the House.**

**IV. Puts it to the Question, What is the Houses pleasure concerning the Prisoners.**

**The**

The First ORATION

Against

CATILINE,

made in the SENATE.

The Argument.

*In the year after the Founding of Rome*

DC, Lucius Sergius Catilina, a Nobleman of Rome, of excellent Endowments both of Body and Mind, but depriv'd through ill habits; having been train'd up under the Usurper Sulla, and through his whole time practis'd in Acts of great Licentiousness, stood with many other Competitors for the Consulship; but was accused of Corruption and miss'd it, Marcus Tullius Cicero and Caius Antonius being chosen: Whereupon he entered into a dan-

B

gerous

## The First Oration

gerous Conspiracy of raising a Civil War, cutting off the Principal of the Senate, and Firing the City. On the VI. and VII. of November in the Nights were held secret Councils with the chief Conspirators, at the House of one M. Lecca a Roman Senator; where, among other particulars concluded for the carrying on the Design, two Knights then present, undertook early that Morning, under colour of a Visit, to kill Tully in his Bed: But he was immediately advis'd of this imminent danger from Q. Corius a false Brother, by Fulvia, and that attempt frustrated. The same day; being the VIII. of November, the Consul calls a Senate in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, within the Tower of Rome; where met also Catiline, either to palliate the matter, or purge himself: Upon sight of whom, Cicero being stirr'd betwixt Fear and Anger, stood up, and thus bespoke him:

I, **H**ow long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience? How long shall that fury of yours, hector



hector down even us too? To what bound shall your unbridled Audaciousness fly out? Has the Night-Guard of the Palace nothing daunted you? Nothing the Watches about the City? Nothing the Fears and Jealousies of the People? Nothing the Concourse of all the honest able Men? Nothing the holding the Senate in this place of strength? Do the looks and faces of all these in presence nothing at all dash you? Are not you aware that all your Plots are discovered? Are not you advised, that your Conspiracy is palpably known to all here? What you resolved upon last Night, what the Night before, where you were, who were in your *fructa*, of what Debates passed between you, who of us do you think is not fully informed?

2. Oh what times! what a world

## The First Oration

do we live in! All this the Senate understands, the Consul sees, yet this fellow lives, lives! and comes into the House, is present at the Publick Council, marks with his eyes and designs each one of us for slaughter: Mean-while We, Couragious Men, think we have discharged our duty to the State, if we can shift his weapons and fury. Long since, *Catiline*, thou should'st have been led by the Consuls Order to Execution, upon thine own head should have been turn'd that destruction which thou hast been so long contriving against all of us.

3. Could that most honourable Person (a) *Pub. Scipio*, the High Priest, being then a private man, flay

(a) Much of the divisions in the Popular State of Rome, was about a Levelling the State, in such sort as that the over-wealthiness of some Grandees, and extreame indigence of the Generality, might be taken away, and a middle Proportion of Estates, the very soul of Democracy, might be establish'd;

## against CATILINE.

3

to support Marriage and enable to transfer two great Instruments of Empire. To effect this, C. Licinius Stolo procur'd a Law, limiting each Citizen within the possession of 500 Acres, and also to a care of great and small Cattle and Servants to keep them. But as this Law was above 120 years e'r it could be obtain'd, so within less than 200 years it was undermin'd and quite overthrow'n, and all Italy found ingrossed into the Hands of a few Lords, who leas'd it out to slaves and Barbarians. This mischief C. Lælius sought first to redress, but was wrought off by the Wealthy Party, and thereby acquir'd the Title of the Wise. Then Tiberius Gracchus undertook the reviving of it, with the Advice of Crassus the High-Priest, Mucius Særvola, the Eminent Lawyer, then Consul, and Appius Claudius his Father-in-Law; upon most moderate conditions, not of restoring the Lands illegally held and refunding the mean profits, but of parting with them for a valuable consideration, to their poor Fellow-Citizens (himself, his Father-in-Law Appius Claudius, and his Brother C. Gracchus being Joyn't-Commissioners for the dividing those Lands.) and contenting themselves with 500 Acres, and their Children with half as much. Yet in the very publishing of it, he was taken off, as was suppos'd. by Scipio Nasica, who was, through the envy of the Fact, fain to retire from his Countrey.

slay Tib. Gracchus, when he did but lightly shake the State of the Government: And shall We, Consuls, tamely endure Catiline, striving to lay the World desolate with Fire and Sword? To pass by those instances of an old date, that

*Quintus Servilius Ahala* flew with

(b) *Sp. Melius* for distributing Corn to the Commons in time of great Dearth, fell under suspicion of affecting a Supremacy: Hereupon *Qu. Cincinnatus* is made Dictator, or Protector, and Captain General; (an Officer not appointed but in time of great fear, and to continue but Six Months.) he nominates *Q. Servilius Ahala* his Lieutenant General or Magister Equitum; who summoning *Sp. Melius*, upon his non-appearance before him, sent and slab'd him.

his own hand (b) *Spurius Melius*, when he went about to alter the Government. There has, there has been in Times of Old, such Courage in the State, that Men of Valour have restrained a dangerous Citizen, with more severe punishment than the most violent

Enemy. We have now too made against you, *Catiline*, a strict and grave Act of Senate. The State wants not advice, nor this House resolution. We, I must speak boldly, We Consuls, are wanting in the Execution.

4. The Senate once made an

(c) An Order for the safety of the

Order, That *Lucius Opinius* (c) the Consul should see that the safety of the

# against CATILINE.

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*the Common-Wealth should not be molested.*

One Night did not pass over his head, but

(d) *Caius Gracchus*, descended of a most Noble Father, Grandfathers, Ancestors, was

slain upon some suspicion of Factionfness;

*Marcus Fulvius*, a Consular Person, was slain,

and all his Children, by a like Act of Senate.

*The security of the State*

*was committed to C. Marius and L. Valerius the*

*Consuls.* Did the Government respite *L. Saturninus*, Tribune of the

Commons, and *Ca. Servilius* Prætor, one day from punishment?

But We now have left

the edge of Authority to grow

*Common-wealth.* Hereb' was committed to the Consuls a Power of levying War and executing Martial Law upon Citizen or Ally, not allow'd but in case of extream danger.

(d) *C. Gracchus* carry'd on the design of his Brother and among other Laws, that of dividing the Lands of Conquest; himself, *M. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Papirius Carbo* being Joynt-Commissioners: the two former were slain by Order of *L. Opinius*, and the Son of *M. Fulvius* sent to intercede for his Father, being a comely and bashful youth, when sent back, with charge of coming no more, returning, by his Fathers order was cruelly kill'd in prison, having never bore Arms. *L. Opinius* was after upon some occasion, condemn'd and banish'd.

blunt these twenty dayes; for we have a like Act of Senate, but shut up in Tables, as a Sword lying in the Scabbard; by which Act of Senate, *Catiline*, you should have been immediately executed. You live, and that not to abandon, but to fortifie your boldness. I desire, my Lords, to be merciful, I desire withal not to be thought careless in so imminent dangers of the Common-wealth. But now I begin to condemn my self of sloth and cowardliness.

5. There is a League in *Italy* against the State, pitched at the Entrance into *Tuscany*, the number of the Enemy increases day by day; but the Commander of that League, and the General of those Enemies, we see within the Walls, nay, in the very Senate; daily plotting some destruction against the State. If, *Catiline*, I should now order you

against CATILINE.

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you to be apprehended, if, to be  
executed, I think I should have  
reason to fear, least all honest  
men, should rather say, this was  
done too late by me; then that any  
should say it was too cruelly done:  
But for a certain reason I do for-  
bear that, which long since should  
have been performed: Then will I  
take thee off, when as no one shall  
be found so impudent, so desperate,  
so like thy self, as not to confess it  
justly done.

6. As long as there shall be any  
one that dares justifie you, you  
shall live; but so, as now you do,  
hemmed in by me with many and  
strong Guards, as not to be able to  
stir against the Common-wealth.  
Many Eyes, and Ears too, that  
you are a little aware of, as hither-  
to they have, shall spy and watch  
your Actions. *Catiline*, What  
would you have more, if neither  
night

night can shrowd in its darkness  
 your wicked Cabals? Nor a pri-  
 vate House within its walls, the  
 words of your Conspiracy? If all  
 come to light, all break forth,  
 change then that mind, be ruled  
 by me, do not think of *Slaugh-*  
*ter and Burning*, you have hands  
 upon you on all sides; all your  
 Plots are as open as the day, which  
 you may recollect with me.

7. Do you remember that I  
 should say in the Senate on the One  
 and twentieth of *October*, that,  
*On a certain day would be in Arms*  
*(which day was to be the 25th of the*  
*same)* Caius Manlius, the *Executio-*  
*ner and Instrument of your Treason.*  
*Catiline*, was I mistaken, not onely  
 in a thing, so great, so furious, so  
 incredible; but what is much more  
 strange, in the very day. I said  
 in the House too, that, *You had*  
*pitched the 28th of the said Moneth,*  
 for



# against CATILINE.

II

ness for the assassinating of the Nobles;  
prior what time many Principal Men  
of the State left the Town, not  
at all so much for their own preservati-  
on, as to suppress your designs:  
Could Can you deny on that very day  
though that you was so penn'd up by my  
hands Guard and diligence, that you  
could not stir to prejudice the  
rich state; when you said, though  
the rest were gone, *The killing of*  
*at us that remained, would serve your*  
*One turn?*

8. What when as you were  
confident you could surprise Pra-  
etor by an assault in the night, on  
the very first of November? Did  
you observe that that Colony was  
by my Order secured with Guards  
so of mine to watch and ward there?  
You act, you plot, you think no-  
thing, but what I not onely hear  
of, but see too, and plainly per-  
ceive. Recall to memory with  
me

me the other night, and you will find, that I am much more intently vigilant for the preservation than you for the destruction of the State. I say, that the night before last, you came among the Vine-dressers, I must speak plainly to the house of *Marcus Lesca*, that very many Abettors of your fury and treachery, had their meeting there; Dare you deny it? Why do not you speak? I will make it appear, if you deny it; for I see (e) some here in the Senate that were there with you.

(e) Salust reckons up xi Senators of the Conspiracy, *Len-  
tulus, Antonius, Longinus, Cethegus, P. & Ser. Sulla, Vargunteius, Annius, Lesca, Bestia, & Curius.*

9. Immortal Gods! where are boats are we? What a Government have we? In what City do we live? In this, this very place are some, of our own House, my Lords, of this most Venerable and Grave Council of all the World, which project my ruin and all yours, together with the destruction

destruction of this City and the  
 Empire of the World. These  
 persons, I that am Consul, be-  
 hold, and take their Votes about  
 the Government; and those that  
 should have been cut off by the  
 sword, I do not yet wound with  
 my word. You were then, Cata-  
 line, at Læta's house that night;  
 you divided Italy into Posts, you  
 appointed every one which way it  
 was concluded he should march; you  
 selected whom to leave at Rome,  
 and whom to carry with your self;  
 you divided the several parts, at  
 which the City was to be fired; you  
 gave assurance you would speedily  
 leave the Town; onely, you said,  
 One petty business, that is, my being  
 alive, stayed your Journey. There  
 were (f) two Roman Knights  
 presently replied, They would re-

(f) C. Cor-  
 nelius Sulla  
 and M. Ce-

thegus, Appian. Salust joyns with C. Cornelius, L. Var-  
 guntellus, but him he had nominated as a Senator before.

move

*move that obstruction, and promised they would that very night, a little before day kill me in my Bed.*

10. I was informed of all this full as soon as your Company was broke up, and secured and guarded my house the better; kept on those that you sent in the morning to give me a Visit, having before told several persons that such would come at the very same time. Which things being so, *Catiline*, hold of the course you have begun, get you out of Town at length; the Gates are open; take your Journey. That Army of *Mantua* does too long want you to head it, carry out all your Complices with you, at least as many as may be rid the City, you will deliver me from much fear, *so there be but Wall between you and me.* You can no longer continue among Us, I will not bear it, I will not suffer it, I will not endure it.

11. Great

against CATILINE.

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11. Great thanks be to the Immortal Gods, and particularly to *Jupiter Stator*, the most ancient Guardian of this City, that we have so often already escaped this so villainous, so dreadful, and so dangerous a plague to the State; the safety of the Government must not any more be hazarded in one person. As long, *Catiline*, as you plotted against me, Consul Elect, I secured my self, not by any Publick Guard, but my private diligence. When as at the last Consular Election, you would have slain me the Consul and your other Competitors in the Field; I dashed your wicked attempts, by the assistance and strength of my friends, without giving any alarm to the Publick: In a word, as often as you struck at me, I opposed you by mine own interest; although I saw, that my destruction was

was inseparable from the great affliction of the State.

But now with open face, you strike at the whole State; you bid ruin and desolation to the Temples of the Immortal Gods, to the Buildings of the City, to the life of all the Citizens: In summe, to all Italy. Wherefore, since I dare not excuse that which were principally to be done, and is proper to this Empire, and the severity of our Ancestors, I will do that which is more gentle, as to censure; more useful, as to the publick safety. For if I should order you to be slain, the reliicks of your Complices would still stick in the Common-wealth: But if you, which I frequently advise you to, shall march off, a great and dangerous sink in the State, of your Comrades, shall be drained out,

13. What's

against CATILINE.

17

13. What's the matter, *Catiline*? Do you make any question to do that at my Order, which you were before a doing of your own accord? The Consul commands an Enemy to go out of Town, Do you ask, *Whether to Banishment*? I do not command you. But if you ask my Counsel, I advise you; For what is there, *Catiline*, which can any longer be pleasing to you in the City? wherein there is none, bating that Gang of desperate Conspirators, but fears you; none but hates you.

(g) What mark of domestical baseness has not been branded upon your life? What private disgrace does not asperse your Name? Have your Eyes ever been refrain'd from any lust? your Hands from any attempt, or any villany from your whole body? What young man is there by your pleasures in-

(g) He is reported to have marry'd her that was judg'd his Daughter, to have kill'd his Brother, and got him after he was dead excepted from pardon.

C. 10. veagled,

veagled, whom you have not furnished, either with a weapon to boldness or with an intemperate to lust?

(h) He is imply'd to have made away his first Wife, to make room for Aurelia Orestilla; whom, because she did not like to have a grown Step-son, he is also recorded to have gratifi'd with the taking him also off out of the way.

14. For example, newly (h) when by the death of your former Wife, you had made house room for a second match, did you not by that villany add another incredible villany? which I pass by, and am well content should be wrapt up in silence, least such an inhumane act should have been thought to have had being, or not to have been avenged under this Government. I pass by the decay of your Estate, all which you will find to hang over your head next Quarter-day. I come to those points, which do not concern the private reproach of your Vices, nor the necessitousness and baseness of your Family; but do more nearly relate unto the well-being of the State, and the life and safety of us all.

15. Can



15. Can it be delightful to you, *Catiline*, to behold the light of this world, and to draw the breath of this air, when as you know, there is none of these present, that is not informed that (i) the day before New-years-day, *Lepidus* and *Tullus* being Consuls, you (k) wore Arms in the Assembly, that you had got a Crew together to kill the Consuls and Nobles; that no good meaning of yours, nor yet fear, but the fortune of the Commonwealth, hindred your treason and rage: But I pass by those things, as neither obscure, nor long since committed. How often would you have killed me, when designed, how often since entred, which had been effected, had not *Catiline* been over-forward to give the word, before all the Conspirators were met together: this was two years past, and is call'd his former Conspiracy.

(i) When *L. Torquatus* and *L. Corn. design'd Consuls*, were to enter upon their Office, *L. Catiline*, *P. Antronius*, and *C. Piso*, about the 5th of December conspir'd to kill them; afterwards they put it off to the 5th of the following February, what time they combin'd not only to kill the Consuls, but most of the Senators;

upon the Consulship? How many  
 passes of yours, so made, that they  
 seemed unavoidable, have I put by  
 by a slight turn, and as the word  
 is, with the motion of my body?  
 You plot, you pursue, you con-  
 trive nothing, but I have timely  
 notice of it; and yet for all that,  
 you will never give over working  
 and designing.

16. How many, many times  
 already has that Dagger been  
 wrung out of your hands? How  
 often by some casualty dropt and  
 slipt down? yet you cannot for  
 your life be without it, which  
 Dagger, under what Vow and  
 Consecration it is, I know not,  
 that you should have such a super-  
 stition, that it must needs be stuck  
 up for a Monument in the Consuls  
 heart. But now, what life do you  
 lead? for I will so deal with you,  
 not as though I were moved with  
 anger,

anger, as I have reason, but with compassion, as you have no reason to expect. You came even now into the Senate, did any one of this great Company of so many friends and acquaintance of yours, do you any reverence? If such a thing as this never happened to any in the memory of man, do you wait for them to speak out their indignation, when you are already cast by the grand consent of their silence? Nay at your coming in, great room was made for you; farther, all the Consular Persons, who had been oftentimes designed by you for slaughter, so soon as you sat down, sat them farther from you, leaving that part of the Seats bare and empty.

17. How do you think that is to be taken by you? Truly if my Servants were in such fear of me, as your Fellow Citizens stand in dread

*The First Oration*

of you, I should think fit to quit my House: Do not you so think it fit to quit the Town? And if I saw my self under so great suspicion and displeasure of my Countreymen, though unjustly, I would rather with-draw my self out of their sight, than be under their continual frowns. And do you, when your Conscience must tell you, that you have incurred the just and long deserved hatred of all, make any scruple to avoid their sight and presence, whose very souls and hearts you break? Suppose your Parents were afraid of, and fallen out with you, and you could by no means recover their favour, I conceive you would retire some whither out of their sight. Now your Countrey, which is the common Parent of us all, hates and fears you, and judges of you, that for this great while, you unnaturally

rally contrive nothing but treason against her. Will you neither reverence her Authority? nor be guided by her Direction? nor stand in fear of her Power?

(1) I pass by those of lesser mark, he slew of those in the Black Book of Sulla, L. Cæcilius, M. Volumenius, L. Tanusius, and M. Marius, Gracidianus, one dear to the People and intimate with Tully, whose recking head and full of spirits, he carried in his hand to Sulla, from the one end of

18. Which, *Catiline*, thus addresses to you, and in a manner, thus silently be-speaks you; *There has been no violence for these many years past, but by your abettment; no lewdness but by your contrivance; you are the onely man, that have carried away free and unpunished the murders (1) of many Citizens; you, (m) the vexation and plundering of the Allies; you have not been onely so great as to slight the Laws and Judgements, but also to pervert and* the City, beyond the Bridge, to the other.

(m) When L. Catiline was Chief Justice in the Province of Africa, he so pillag'd the subject, that he was accus'd of Bribery by Clodius, whom he so corrupted, that he shamefully betray'd the Cause, and so came off; again being indicted of Murder, for his many slaughters in the Action of Sulla, by the favour of the Nobility, who favour'd Sulla, he was clear'd.

*break through them. Your former Actions ; although not to be born with, yet I digested as well as I could : but now, that I should be all over in a fright for your only sake ; that at the least fir Catiline should be suspected : no Plot can be thought to be laid against me, but through your Treachery, is intollerable : Wherefore with draw and rid me of this terror ; if true, to prevent my destruction ; if false, to remove at length my fears.*

19. If your Countrey should thus address to you, ought she not to obtain it ; although she could not force you ? Nay further, you have offered your self into custody ; nay, you said, *To clear you of all suspicion, you would go dwell with Marcus Lepidus ; who not entertaining you, you had the confidence to come to me, and desired that, I would secure you in my house.*

house. When you had from me too this Answer, that, I could by no means be safe with you under the same roof, that am in great danger, whilest we are within the same City Wall. You came to Q. Metellus the Prætor, by whom, when you were rejected, you took up your Lodging at your own Comrades, honest <sup>Q. V.</sup> Marcus Marcellus: Him in good time you took, as one very careful to watch you, and very acute to discover you, and very couragious to punish you. But how far may he be thought from Goal and Irons, who judges himself worthy of Restraint?

20. Which things being so, Catiline, do you make any scruple, if you cannot be contented to die here, to go into some foreign place? and to commit that life of yours, conveyed away from many due and well deserved punishments,

to Exile and Obscurity? Move it, say you, *in the house*, for that is your request; and if the Senate shall vote, you must be banished, you say, you will submit. I will not move it, which is a thing goes much against my disposition; and yet I will so order the matter, that you may so understand the sense of the House concerning you. Catiline, Go out of the Town, <sup>State</sup> put the State out of fear, go your way into Banishment, since you look for that word. What is the matter, Catiline? Do you mind? Do you observe the silence of all present? They are contracted, they are still. What, do you expect they should speak and give Order, whose meaning you will know by their silence?

21. But if I had said the same thing, to this worthy young Man, P. Sextius, if as much to Ma. Marcellus,



*cellus*, a Person of great Valour, the Senate would immediately have laid violent hands, with all the reason in the world, upon me, that am now Consul, in this very Sanctuary, where we are: But for you, *Catiline*, being they are quiet, they give their consent; being they are contented, they vote it: being silent, they proclaim it. Nor only the Senators, whose Authority it seems is with you very dear, their lives cheap; but also those Roman Knights, Men of great honour and worth, and other valiant Citizens, which attend at the Senate, whose number you might see, and perceive their affections, and even now plainly hear their very words; whose hands and weapons for this good while, I have had much ado to keep off from you. I can easily prevail upon them, that if you  
leave

leave these parts, which you are plotting to ruin, they shall all wait upon you to the City Gates.

22. But wherefore, do I talk, Can any thing daunt you? Can you ever be reformed? That you should ever think of with-drawing? Intend to leave the Town? Would the Immortal Gods would give you such a frame of heart! Although I fore-see, if you upon the terror of these words, should take up a Resolution to go to Banishment, what a storm of Envy would hang over us? Though not so much at the present, whilst the memory of your villanies is fresh, but in after times. But I stand not much upon that, so the Calamity might be your own in particular, and severed from the dangers of the State. But that you should be sensible of your own Vices, or fear the Penalties of the Laws,

Laws, or comply with the necessity of the times, is a thing not to be expected: for, *Catiline*, you are none of those that either shame should keep you back from baseness, fear from hazard, or reason from rage.

23. Wherefore, as I have often said to you before, go your wayes, and if you have a mind, to procure me ill will, *your Enemy*, as you give out, go directly to Banishment. I shall hardly endure the censures of men, if you do so; scarcely stand under the load of that Envy, if you should go into Banishment at the Consuls Order: But if you had rather be instrumental to my praise and glory, march out with your dangerous Crew of Traytors, go straitwayes to *Manlius*, stir up the discontented people, separate your self from the well affected, make War upon  
your

your Countrey, triumph in your unnatural robberies, that you may be thought not to have been cast out by me among strangers, but invited to your own.

24. But what need I invite you, who I know, have sent some to wait for you in Arms at *Forum Aurelium*. I know a day is pitched upon and agreed with *Manlius*, by whom I know too that Silver Eagle, which I trust will turn to the ruin and confusion of you and all yours; which set in your House was the Chappel of all your Treasons; is sent away. Can you want that Image, which you us'd to pray to, when you went out upon a Murder; from whose Altars you often carry'd your polluted hand to the assassinating of Citizens? Go your wayes at last, whither that unbridled and raging lust of yours has long time hurried you; for this

your occasion does not bring you any  
 grief, but a kind of incredible  
 pleasure; to such sottishness has  
 nature bred, your will practis'd,  
 and fortune guided you. You ne-  
 ver longed for, I do not say, Peace,  
 but any War, save such as is un-  
 natural. You have got a party of  
 lewd persons, not onely lost in  
 their fortunes, but also in their  
 hopes. Here, what complacence  
 will you find? What joy will you  
 triumph in? What pleasure will  
 you rant in? when amidst so great  
 a number of followers, you will  
 neither hear of an honest man, nor  
 see one. *Those labours of yours,*  
 that are so much cried up, have  
 been trained to this course of life:  
*Lying perdue*, not onely to watch  
 a Mistress, but to take a Purse;  
*Watchfulness* both over the sleep  
 of married men, and the Estates  
 of the murdered. You have now  
 an

an opportunity to shew that you  
brave *hardiness in hunger, cold,*  
*and want of all things,* wherewith  
you shall shortly find your self  
pinched. I gained so much, what  
time I put you from the Consul-  
ship, that you might rather in Ba-  
nishment attempt, than in the su-  
pream Government effect, the  
ruin of the State; and that the  
thing, which was treasonably by  
you undertaken, might rather  
bear the Name of Rebellion, than  
War.

27. Now, My Lords, That I  
may remove, and deprecate from  
me, a kind of almost just Com-  
plaint of my Countrey, mark I be-  
seech you, attentively what I shall  
say, and treasure it up faithfully in  
your minds and memories: For, if  
my Countrey, which is far dearer  
to me than my life; if all *Italy,*  
if the whole Common-wealth  
should

should speak to me, Marcus Tully, What do you mean? Would you suffer him to go forth, that you know certainly to be a Rebel; that you see will be the General of the War; that you are sensible, is expected as Chief Captain in the Enemies Camp; having been the Contriver of the Treason, the Chief of the Conspiracy, the Raiser of the Slaves and desperate Citizens: that he may be thought not so much let out, as set on the Town? Will not you command him to be put in Irons, to be carried to Execution, to be punished with death?

28. What I pray hinders? Is it the old Custom? Nay often in this State, Persons out of Commission have put dangerous Citizens to death: Or the Laws which have been made about the punishing free Citizens of Rome? But never in this State have those, who revolted

D from

from the Government, preserved the Priviledges of Freemen. Do you fear the Envy of Posterity? Now you fairly require the People of Rome, who has exalted you, a Person known for your self onely, without any Commendation of your Ancestors, so early to the supreme Magistracy, through all the degrees of subordinate Offices; if for envy or the fear of any danger, you neglect the safety of your Countreymen. But if there be any fear of Envy, is the Censure of Severity and Courage more greatly to be feared, than that of Baseness and Cowardise? Do you not think, when Italy shall be made desolate with War, the Cities plundered, the Houses a-fire, you shall then fall under a flagrant Envy?

29. To these most sacred words of the State, and the minds of those men, which are of the same judgment, I shall answer a word:  
Had



Had I, my Lords, Judged it most expedient for *Catiline* to be put to death, I had not allowed that Sword-Player one hours respite to live: For if those most eminent and honourable Patriots were so far from polluting, that they rather ennobled themselves with the blood of *Saturninus* and the *Gracchi*, and *Flaccus*, and of many others in former times: Truly I have no reason to fear, least this Murderer of the Citizens being slain, any envy should rise against me for the future. But if never so much did hang over me, yet I was alwayes of this Judgment, to think Envy gotten by Vertue to be no Envy but Glory.

30. Although there are some in this House, who either not see what is imminent, or dissemble what they see; who have cherish'd the hopes of *Catiline* with remiss

Votes , and have confirmed the rising Conspiracy , by not believing it : whose Authority many, not onely out of malice , but of simplicity following , had I executed him, would have said , it had been a cruel and tyrannical Act. Now I understand , if he shall arrive, whither he intends at the Camp of *Manlius* , no body will be so foolish, as not to see it was a Plot , no body so bold as not to confess it : But if he singly was slain , I understand this plague of the State might be a little suppress , but not wholly extinguished : But if he fly out , and carry his party along with him , and gather to the same place all other desperate persons , from every part gleaned up , not only this so ripe a plague of the Common-wealth will be extinguished and rooted out , but also the very strings and seeds of all mischief.

31. For,

31. For, my Lords, this great while, are we engaged in the danger, and the snare of this Conspiracy. But now how it comes to pass I know not, the ripeness of all Treasons, and old rage, and boldness, is broke forth in the time of our Consulship. Now if this one person shall be taken off, we shall be thought perhaps relieved of our cares and fears; but the danger will stick close, and will be locked up in the bowels and veins of the Common-wealth; as often times men in an acute Sickness, when they are tossed with heat and feaver, if they drink cold water, seem at first to be eased; then afterwards, are more grievously and violently afflicted: so this Disease in the Body Politick being abated by his punishment, will return more violently, if the rest be left alive.

D 3

32. Where-

32. Wherefore, my Lords, Let the Malignants fall off, let them separate from the honest party, let them draw to a head : In a word, as I have often before said, *Let them be parted from us with a Wall*: let them leave plotting against the Consul in his own house, investing the Judges Bench, surrounding the Senate with their Swords, making Fire-balls and Brands, to burn the City. Lastly, let it be written in every ones Fore-head how he stands affected to the State. I promise you this, my Lords, there shall be so great diligence in us Consuls, so much authority in you, so much courage in the Roman Knights, so great consent in the honest party, that you may see the whole Plot discovered, laid open, suppressed, and punished, by the going out of *Cariline*.

33. With

33. (n) With this Prayer after you, *Catiline*, wishing, *It may prove preservation to the State, ruin and confusion to your self, and destruction to all those, who have combined themselves with you in all villainy and treason. Go your way to an unnatural and rebellious War.* (o) And thou, Oh *Juppiter*, who at the same dedication as the City, wert consecrated by *Romulus*, whom we truly style, *the Stay of this State and Empire; repulse him and his Complices from the Altars, and other Temples; from the Houses and Walls of the City; from the life and fortunes of all the Citizens: And all the Maligners of the well-affected, Enemies of their Countrey, Plunderers of Italy, confound them both quick and dead with eternal punishment.*

(n) The Heathens had a strong Superstition about the accidents, or Voices of Birds or Men, particularly at the Entering upon a Journey, especially in any great Undertaking: that they were ominous, if good, to the Blessing, if bad, to the Blasting their Design: Therefore he thus speaks of ill success to his design'd Expedition.

(o) This being spoken in the Temple

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The

of *Jupiter Sator*, hath a greater presence of *Aw and Devotion*, and a kind of solemn Excommunication, some Image of which was even among the Heathens in use towards men guilty of Treasons, Murders, and such high Misdemeanors.



## The Second ORATION

Against

# CATILINE.

### The Argument.

*Catiline having flung out of the Senate, went home, and there reflecting upon the unsuccessfulness of the Morning attempt upon the Person of the Consul, and seeing the City strongly guarded, concluded in safety with what forces he could suddenly and secretly carry with him, to gain the Camp of Manlius: Wherefore having given Lentulus and Cethegus in charge to strengthen his Faction in the City, and at convenient season to put in execution the Results of their former Counsels, in order*

## against CATILINE.

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order to a general Insurrection, when he should draw up with his Army towards the City: at Midnight he left Rome, with 300 in company. The next day, being the IX. of November, Tully calls the People to the Place of Assembly, both to justify to them his challenging Catiline of Conspiracy the day before, and to warn them to stand upon their Guard against the Confederates that still remain behind in the Town.

Gentlemen,

I. **A**T last with much ado, have we either expelled, or let out, or else waited upon *L. Catiline* of himself, going out of Town, foaming with rage, breathing Treason, unnaturally plotting the destruction of his Countrey, and menacing you and this City with Fire and Sword. He is gone, he is got his way, he is escaped, he is broke loose: No longer

longer shall any mischief against this Town be brewed by that Monster and Prodigy of Men within the Town. And without controversie have we prevailed against him, that was the onely Ring-leader of this Intestine War: For no

(a) *Stabbing was infamous in all Ages, whence those Braves or Assassines that were noted for Cowardly and Desperate lying in wait to murder men, were from the Ponyard which they carried, being in Latine Sica, called Sicarii.*

(b) *Mars's Field was a piece of Townground (the Ancient Crown-land) which the Romans at the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, seized and converted to the use of Electing their Magistrates in it. Now there was a Statute in Rome, That none should bring a Weapon into the Place for Assembly of the People, nor into the Senate, nor into the Judgment Hall. But Catiline had in a former Conspiracy come to the Consular Election armed with design to cut off the Consuls. And now Tully some few dayes before, at the late Election of Consuls, as going in fear of his life, had come into the Field of Mars, wearing a great remarkable Coat of Mail.*

longer now shall that (a) Dagger be busy amidst the ribbs of us; nor shall we be afraid in (b) the Field of Mars nor in the Market-Place, nor in the Senate, nor in a word, within our own doors. He has quitted his ground,

when



when he fled the City. We shall now openly wage a just War with a declared Enemy, no body contradicting: undoubtedly we have destroyed and bravely vanquished him, what time we put him from private plotting into open Rebellion.

2. But that he did not carry out of Town, as he designed, the point of his Sword stained in blood; that he went and we alive; that we have wrested the weapon out of his hand; that he left behind him the Citizens in safety, and the Town standing: what mortification do you think it to be, and heart-breaking to him? Now lies he groveling on the ground, and is sensible that he is a lost and ruined man, and oftentimes turns his Eyes back upon the City, lamenting, it has escaped his ravenous Jaws; which City seems to me to look

look more cheerfully, since it has disgorged and cast out so pestilent a fellow.

3. But if there be any now, as all of you ought to be, affected, that upon this very point, wherein my Oration does boast and triumph, should greatly accuse me, because I did not rather apprehend so Capital an Enemy than let him escape; it is none of my fault, Sirs, but the times; *L. Catiline* should have been long since taken off and executed, and both old Presidents and the severity of this Empire, and the publick interest required it at my hands. But how many, think you, were there, who would not believe my Information? How many, that out of simplicity *could not have thought it?* How many that even justify it? How many, that out of corrupt Principles, abetted it? Now if upon taking him

him off, I had judg'd all your danger removed, long since had I cut off *L. Catiline*, not onely at the hazard, of losing my reputation, but also my life.

4. But when I plainly saw, though you had been all satisfied in the cause, if I had put him to death according to his demerit, it could not be that I might prosecute the Complices, so much should I be maligned: I brought it to this pass, that you might then openly fight, when you manifestly saw your Enemy; which Enemy, Gentlemen, how much you need fear, now he is gone, you may understand by this, that I am troubled at nothing more than that he went out of Town so ill attended; would he had carried along with him all his forces! He took me out *Tongillus*, that he was scandalously reported to have been fond

fond of in his Childhood, *Publicius* and *Munatius*, whose debts contracted in Taverns, could bring no fear to the State: He left behind him men, how considerable? of what vast debts? how potent? how noble?

5. Therefore that Army of his, in respect of our *Gallick* Legions, and that Levy, which *Q. Metellus* made in the *Picenian* and *Gallick* Countrey, and these forces, which are daily listed by us, I greatly slight, an Army made up of desperate old men, debauched Farmers, and Countrey Beggars and Bankrupts, men that had rather forfeit their Recognizance than quit his Colours, whom if I should shew, not so much as the Front of our Army, but onely the Sheriffs Writ; they will drop down, These that I see flaunting in the Market, nay, sitting in the Senate,

Senate, that are perfumed, that shine in Purple; I had rather he had carried out his Souldiers with him; who, if they tarry here, take notice, that not so much that Army, as these, that absent from their Colours, are to be feared by us; and so much the more dangerous are they: because they are sensible that I am informed of their designs; and yet are not concerned at it.

6. I see, to whose share *Apulia* is allotted, who has *Tuscany*, who the *Picenian* Countrey, who the *Gallick*, who it was, that required he might carry on the massacring and firing the City. They perceive all their Plots of the other night have been brought to me, I declared them yesterday in the Senate, *Catiline* himself was put in a fright, fled upon it. What do these stay for? I assure them they are much mistaken

staken, if they suppose my forbearance will alwayes continue. What I waited for, I have already attained; that you might all be convinced there is a manifest Plot against the State, unless perchance there be some, that imagine men of *Catiline's* temper do not abet *Catiline*. There is no longer room for patience, the nature of affairs calls aloud for severity, yet I will still allow them one favour; let them be gone, let them march out, let them not suffer poor *Catiline* to pine away, for lack of them. I will shew them the way, he is gone the *Aurelian* Road, if they make haste, they will over-take him before night.

7. Oh happy State, if it could drain out the sink of the Town. In truth, upon the throwing off *Catiline* onely, the State seems to  
me

me much eased, and on the mending hand? For what mischief or villany could be devised or thought on; which he did not contrive? What Sorcerer in all Italy, what Hector, what Highway-man, what Assassine, what Parricide, what Forger of Wills, what Cheat, what Whoremaster, what Prodigal, what Adulterer, what infamous Strumpet, what Debaucher of Youth, what debauched, what desperate person can be found, but confesses *Catiline* was his great acquaintance? What Murders have been committed these late years, that he had not a hand in? What abominable Rape, but of his setting on?

8. Now where was there ever such a Spirit of inveigling youth as in him? who did himself love so unnaturally, was scandalously prostituted to the unnatural love

ONE

E

OF

of others; some he promised the enjoyment of their lust, others the death of their Parents, not onely by his instigation, but by his assistance; and now, how of a sudden has he got together a great many men of desperate fortunes, not onely from the Town, but from the Countrey also? There is none in debt, either in *Rome*, or any corner of all *Italy*, that he has not drawn in to his incredible Confederacy in Treason.

9. And that you may perceive his different Inclinations in things of a contrary Nature, there is none in the Fencing-School, any thing forward to bold attempts; but confesses, he was *Catiline's* Intimate: None any thing wanton or loose on the Stage, but gives out that he and *Catiline* were in a manner all one. And yet this very Person, inur'd to suffer Cold and Hunger  
and



and Thirst, and watch in pursuit of Whoredom and Villany, was cried up by these his Companions as one *hardy*; when as the Aids of Industry and Instruments of Vertue, were wasted upon Lust and Violence.

10. Now if his Comrades would go along with him, if the scandalous Crew of desperate Persons would quit the Town, happy should we be, the State blessed, and an Immortal Renown upon my Consulship! for the lusts of men now-a-dayes are grown immoderate, their attempts inhumane and unsufferable; they think of nothing but Massacres, but firing, but plundering, they have spent their own Estates, they have squandred away their Fortunes, their Stock has been long since gone, now their Credit begins to fail them, yet they have the same

pride as when they had a plentiful Estate. Now if amidst their Drinking and Gaming, they onely regarded Riot and Whoring, they were indeed little hopeful, but yet tolerable. But who can endure this, that Cowards should lay wait for the Valiant, Fools for the Wise, Sots for the Sober, Sluggards for the Vigilant? That sit me at Treats with their Misses in their Laps, their Brains swimming with Wine, Stomachs over charged with Meat, Garlands on their Heads, daubed with Sweet Oyntment, weakned with Whoring, and belch out in their talk *the slaughter of the honest Party and the firing of the City.*

11. Over whom I am confident there hangs some fate, and that the rewards long since due to their boldness, baseness, treachery, and lust, is either imminent, or certainly approaching. Whom, if  
 my

my Consulship, because it cannot cure, shall cut off, it will not prolong some small and inconsiderable time, but many Ages to the State; for there is no Nation, which we need fear, no King that can wage war with the People of Rome;

(c) All forreign Affairs are quietly settled by Sea and Land, through the valor of one man; the Plot is within; the danger locked within; the Enemy is within: We have a Conflict with Luxury, with Madness, with Treachery. I declare my self, Gentlemen, General in this War. I am contented to be maligned by desperate persons. What can be healed, I will use all means to heal; what must be cut off, I will not suffer to spread to the common destruction: Therefore either let them be gone, or let them be quiet; or, if they do abide, both in Town and in the

(c) Pompey had at that time clear'd the Mediterranean of Pirates, and had well-nigh dispatch'd the long War with Mithridates King of Pontus.

same mind, let them expect what they deserve.

12. But some there are, Gentlemen, that say, *Catiline was by me thrown into Banishment*. Which, if I could effect with a word speaking, I would throw out them that say so. For he, I'll warrant you, poor, timorous, and over-modest man, could not bear the reproof of the Consul: as-  
soon as commanded to go into Banishment, obey'd Orders. Nay yesterday, when I was almost murdered in my own house, I summoned a Senate into *Jupiter Statoy's* Temple: I informed the Senators of the whole matter, whither when *Catiline* was come, what Senators spoke to him: who saluted him? In a word, who looked upon him, so well as a forlorne Citizen, and not rather as a most dangerous Enemy? Nay the  
Chief

Chief of that Order left the part (d) It was  
of the Seat, towards which he a fundamen-  
came, naked and empty. tal Law in  
Rome of the

13. Hereupon, I, the severe XII. Tables,  
Consul, that threw men into Ba- not to hold  
nishment with a word speaking, que- Night accen-  
stioned Catiline, Whether he had the City, and there  
been present, or no, at the (d) Night was a Ge-  
Meeting in M. Lecca's House binian sta-  
when he, though bold enough, sure, Qui  
yet self-convinced, was at first si- conciones  
lent, I made further discovery, nullas clande-  
what he treated of that Night, where stinas in Ur-  
he had been, what he had resolved be consti-  
upon for the next night, and in- vider, more  
form'd how the whole Course of the majorem ca-  
War was projected by him. pitale suppli-  
When cium multa-  
as he stopt and stayed, I questio- reum. Por-  
ned him. Why he should make any tius Larco,  
demurre of going thither, whither Hic non shall  
he had long since intended, having draw toge-  
I know, sent before, his Arms, his ther secret  
High Treason, which was with the Romans to be try'd in the  
Whipping-Post, scourg'd, and beluaded. accensum  
within the  
City, shall  
suffer the  
Pains of

(r) *Cat.* *Arms, his Rods, his Trumpets, his line leaving Ensigns, and that Silver Eagle, to the Town, which he had set up at home a Chapel for his Treacheries.*

*L4.* *Did I throw him into Banishment, that I saw was already entred upon a War: For that Captain I'll warrant you, that has encamped in the Fesutan Countrey, proclaimed War against the Roman people upon his own account, and that Camp does not now wait for Catiline to be their General; and now being thrown into Banishment, he will turn aside to (r) Marseilles, as they give out, and not into this Camp? Oh unhappy condition, not onely of steering, but of saving the State.*

*scind himself of any such crime, but to prevent all occasions of disturbing the publick Peace.*

*Marseilles is a famous Port in France, planted from Asia in the times of the Persian Empire; of old renown'd for frugality, with other Vertues, Policy, Learning, and an eminent affection to the Roman State.*

Now,

Now, if *L. Catiline*, hemmed in, and disabled by my Counsels, Labors, and Dangers, should take a sudden fright, alter his purpose, desert his Party, abandon his resolution of raising War, from this Carier of Treason and Rebellion, should turn his Course into flight and Exile; he will not be reported to have been by me disarmed of the weapons of his insolency, nor astonished and affrighted by my diligence, nor put besides his hopes and endeavours; but *uncondemned innocent man*, to have been thrown into Banishment by the Consul, with foul and threatening words: and some will have it be thought, if he shall do so, not that he was guilty, but *unfortunate*, nor that I was a most diligent Magistrate, but a *most cruel Tyrant*.

15. I can well afford, Gentlemen, to bear the storm of this  
false

false and unreasonable aspersion, so the danger of this dreadful and unnatural War be diverted from you, let it, since they will have it so, be said that *he was thrown out by me*, so he do, but go into Banishment: but take my word he will not do so. Sirs! I shall never wish of the Immortal Gods, for the abating any hard opinion of me, that you should hear *L. Catiline* is in the head of the Enemies Army, and marching in the Field; yet within three dayes you will hear it: and I much more fear the other thing, least the time may once come, wherein it prove a greater fault that I let him go out, than that *I threw him out*: But there being some, that say he is persecuted, when he went of himself, what would those men have said, if he had been executed?



16. Although these very men, that give out that *Catiline is gone to Marseilles*, do not so much complain, as fear that it is so. None of them has so much tenderness for him, but had rather that he should go to *Manlius* than to those of *Marseilles*. But, in truth, had he never before designed, what he now goes about, yet he had rather be killed in Rebellion than live in Banishment. But now, when as nothing has yet befallen him, besides his own desire and design, but that he went out of *Rome*, and we alive; let us rather wish he would, then complain that he doth go into Banishment.

17. But why are we thus long discoursing of one Enemy? and that Enemy that now declares himself so, and whom I no longer fear; because there is, as I alwayes desi-

desired, *a Wall between us*; we speak nothing yet of those, that dissemble that tarry behind at *Rome*, that keep amongst us: whom I do not so much endeavour to punish, if it could any way be prevented, as to cure and reconcile them to the State. Nor do I see, why that should not be possible, if they take my Counsel; for I will relate to you, Gentlemen, of what sort of men those forces are made up, then will I apply to the particulars the best Remedy my advice and perswasion can provide.

18. One Rank of them is such, as, though they have great debts, yet have greater Estates; out of love to which, they can by no means afford to get themselves clear. The appearance of these men has the fairest shew, for they are substantial men; but their intention

tention and pretence is most impudent. Should you be plentiful and splendid in Lands, in Houses, in Plate, in Retinue, and in all Accommodations, and do you stick to diminish some of your Estate, and to purchase a good reputation? Why, what do you look for? *For War?* What? Do you then think in the Common Desolation, that your possessions shall be sacred and untouched? *For (f) a Bill to cancel old Debts?* They are much mistaken, that look for that from *Catiline*; I will help them to such a Bill, but it must be a Bill of Sale. For, they who have Estates, can be preserved by no other means; which, if they would have done sooner, neither (which,

(f) In Cases of extraordinary publick Necessities, there have been fram'd Acts or Proclamations, for the Relieving all old Debts to a certain

day. Such was the Jubilee among the Hebrews, such the Act call'd *Abolus*, or *Exis*, among the Greeks; or those *Noxx Tabulæ* of the Romans; and such in some measure are Acts in these later times, for the releasing of poor Prisoners, that shall swear themselves not worth 5 or 10 l.

is the most foolish thing in the World) tire out their Rents with paying interest ; we might have had more able and honest Citizens of them. But such men as these I think not very much to be feared , because they may either be reclaimed , or , if they shall continue in the same mind , they seem rather to me , such as will joyn their prayers than their arms against the State.

19. Another sort is of those , that , though they are deeply in debt , yet they affect Tyranny , they would be Princes ; those places which they cannot look for , if the State continue in peace , if *(g)* it be *(g)* disturbed , they hope they shall attain : Who should have this advice given them , the self-same , as all the rest , to despair of obtaining that , which they attempt : First of all , that I my self am vigilant ,

*(g)* Like the  
fisherman in  
the Fable,  
who troubled  
the waters,  
that he might  
catch the  
more fish,

against CATILINE. 63

gilant, active, provident over the State; then the well-affected are in great Courage, great Concord, in very great number; that there are great Forces of Soldiery; lastly, that the Immortal Gods will aid and assist this invincible People, most renowned Empire, and most beautiful City, against such a prodigious Treason. But grant they had obtained, what they pursue with such madness, do they hope, that in the ashes of the Town, and blood of their Citizens, which with a traiterous and an unnatural heart they have conspired, themselves should be Consuls, or Protectors, or indeed Kings? Do they not see, that they lust after that, which, if they could compass, must needs be granted some Fugitive or Fencer?

(b) Sulla  
having over-  
thrown the  
Marian Par-  
ty and ma-  
ster'd the  
State, plac'd  
his Victori-  
ous Army  
in the at-  
tainted  
Lands;  
which he di-  
vided a-  
mongst 47  
Legions.

20. A third sort is well stricken  
in years, yet trained up to hardi-  
ness; in which rank is *Manlius*  
himself, whose Charge *Catiline*  
has now taken. (b) These are  
persons of those Plantations, that  
*Sulla* settled, all which I take to  
be of honest Citizens and valiant  
Men. But these are Planters, who  
live too high and proud upon their  
unexpected and new got moneys:  
These, whilst they build like  
Princes, whilst they pride them-  
selves in their Manor Houses,  
Coaches, great Retinues, Enter-  
tainments, Furnitures, are sunk  
into so great Debt; that if they  
would ever come out, *Sulla*, must  
be again raised from the Dead  
by these: who have also drawn in  
some Farmers, poor and needy  
men, upon the same expectation  
of their old Rapines; both of  
whom, I place, Sirs, in the same  
Rank

Rank of Robbers and Plunderers. But I advise them this, *Let them leave off their madness, and dreaming of Sequestrations, and Protectorships*: For the Country having been burnt, retains such a dread of those times, that now-a-days not onely Men, but the Brutes themselves, in my opinion, would not endure such outrages.

21. The fourth sort indeed is heterogeneous and mixt and factious, such as have been long since sunk; such as never can hold up their head again; such as partly by idleness, partly by ill managing their business; partly by bad husbandry, are tottering with old Debts: who being tired with Suits, Judgments, and Outlawries, are said to flock in great numbers, both out of Town and Countrey to that Camp. These men I judge not so much to be

F                      stout

stout Souldiers, as Shifting Baf-  
flers: Which persons, first, if  
they cannot stand, even let them  
fall; but so, that not onely the State,  
but not so much as their next Neigh-  
bour should be sensible of it: For I  
do not understand the reason why  
if they cannot live in credit, they  
should desire to fall with dishonour;  
or why they should suppose it less pain  
to sink with many, than in sinking  
alone.

22. A fifth sort is of Pari-  
cides, Murderers, and in a word,  
of all Malefactors; whom I do not  
intice from *Catiline*, neither can  
they be torn from him; and in  
truth let them perish in Rebellion,  
being so many, that the Prison can-  
not hold them.

23. But the last sort is, not  
onely in their Roll, but also in  
their course of life, that which is  
properly *Catilines*, of his List; nay  
of



of his Lust and Cap: such as you see with set and oyned Hair, either Beardless, or with spruce Beards; in (i) Tunicks, with Sleeves, wrapt in Mantles, and not in Gowns: All the industry of whose life and labour of watching, is laid out in Revellings. In this Crew, all Gamesters, all Adulterers, all loose and debauched persons do keep. These fine and soft Lads, have not onely the Trade of Courting and being Courted, nor of (k) Singing and Dancing, but also of flourishing Daggers and scattering Poison; who, unless they be gone, unless they perish, though Catiline should perish, be well assured, this will be a standing Nursery of Catilines

(i) The measure of commendable and proper habit, is such as either conduceth to, or at least consists with readiness of Action in every ones place; therefore the Romans condemned in Men, especially Souldiers, Garments with Sleeves and Trains.

(k) To sing, play on Instruments

of Musick and dance curiously, were qualifications of no credit at Rome, and look'd upon as light and airy, nor suitable to the Roman gravity, but in high esteem among the Grecians.

in the State. But what do those poor wretches mean? Can they carry their small Girls with them into the Camp? And how can they be without them, especially these long Cold Nights? Or in

(1) A ridge of Hills running the length of Italy North and South from the Alps to the Straight of Sicily.

what sort can they beant he (1) Appennine, and those Frosts and Snows, unless they think they shall the more easily endure the Weather, because they have practised to dance naked at Feasts?

24. A War greatly to be dreaded, when *Catiline* hath about him this lewd Life-guard! Now, Gentlemen, draw up your Garrisons and your Armies against these precious Forces of *Catiline*; and first, against that broken and battered Fencer, range your Consuls and Generals; then against that naked and weather-beaten party of shipwrackt Creatures; draw forth the flower and strength of

of all *Italy*. Now the Cities of the Plantations and Boroughs shall ballance *Catiline's* Fastnesses in the Woods: Nor in truth ought I to compare your other Forces, Trophies, and Strong holds, with the want and beggery of that Rebel.

25. But if, waving all these things, whereof we have supplies, he is in want; the Senate, the Knights, the Roman People, the City, the Treasury, the Customs, all *Italy*, the several Provinces, Foreign Nations; I say, if waving these things, we would match the bare causes which are in dispute one with another, by that onely we may apprehend how flat they are laid: For, on the one side modesty fights, on the other, scorn; on this part, Purity, on the other Debauchery; on this side Credit, on that side Knavery; on this Loyalty, on that Treason; on this

side Stayedness, on the other Mad-  
ness; on this side Honour, on that  
Baseness; on this Government,  
on that Lust: In summe, on this  
side, Equity, Temperance, Cou-  
rage, Prudence; all Vertues, con-  
tend with Oppression, with Lux-  
ury, with Cowardize, with Rash-  
ness, with all Vices. Lastly,  
Wealth with Want, Right Rea-  
son with Absurdness, Good Judg-  
ment with Infatuation. Lastly,  
Fair Hope engages with the De-  
spair of all things. In such a Com-  
bate and Battle, though the Af-  
fections of men should with-draw,  
would not the Immortal Gods  
themselves oblige so many and so  
great Vices to be over-thrown by  
these most Excellent Vertues.

26. Which things being so,  
Gentlemen, do you, as I have  
before said, watch and ward your  
private houses: I have taken Or-  
der

der and provided, that the City be sufficiently guarded without putting you into any fear or Alarme. All your Planters and Burgesſes, having been certified by me of this Nights Excurſion of *Catiline*, will ſufficiently defend their Cities and Bounds. The Fencers, which he thought would make him a great and a ſure party, although they are better affected than ſome of the Senators, ſhall yet be ſecured. *L. Metellus*, that I upon proſpect of this, ſent before into the *Galliſian* and *Picenian* Countrey, will either ſurpriſe him himſelf, or ſuppreſs all his motions and endeavours. But for the ſetting, diſpatching, and ordering all other things, we will immediately move the Houſe, which you ſee is ſummoned.

27. Now for thoſe which have tarried behind in Town, and in

truth, which have been left there by *Catiline*, to the destruction of it and all you; though they are enemies, yet because they are natural Citizens, I would warn them again and again. My forbearing hitherto, if it have seemed to any too slack, has waited for this, that what was hidden, might break out. For the time to come, I can forget no longer that this is my Countrey; that I am their Consul; that I must either live with them, or die for them. There is no Porter at the Gate, no Scout upon the Road, if any will go out, they may shift for themselves: But whoever shall stir in the Town, that I shall discover not onely his acting, but any attempting, or endeavour against his Countrey, he shall find; that there are in the City, vigilant Consuls, there are excellent Magistrates,

gistrates, there is a Courageous Senate, that there are Arms and a Prison, which our Ancestors have appointed to be for the avenging of unnatural and notorious Villanies.

28. And all this shall be so carried, Gentlemen, that the most important affairs with the least noise, the greatest dangers without alarme, an intestine and domestick War, the cruellest and greatest as ever was recorded, may be suppressed under my single Conduct and Generallship in the Long Robe: Which I will so manage, Gentlemen, if it be any wayes possible, that not so much as any Criminal in the Town may endure the punishment due to his Treachery. But if open Rebellion, if the imminent hazard of my Countrey, shall force me from this temper of mind, I shall be sure to  
com-

compass that other thing, which in so great and so dangerous a Rebellion, seems a boldness to wish, that no honest person may miscarry, and that by the execution of a few, ye may be all preserved.

29. Which things I promise you, Gentlemen, not upon Confidence of my own Wisdom, nor the Counsels of Men, but upon many, and those undoubted Intimations of the Immortal Gods; by whose guidance, I have come to this hope and resolution; who now, not at a distance, as they were wont in former times, from a foreign and remote Enemy, but here in presence, do defend their Temples and the Houses of the City with their power and assistance; whom you, Sirs, in duty ought to petition, worship and implore, *That what City they have*

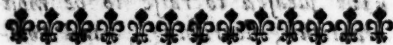


have pleased to raise to be most  
beautiful, flourishing, and pow-  
erful, they would preserve from  
the unnatural Treason of most de-  
sperate Citizens, all the power of  
Foreign Enemies being subdued  
both by Sea and Land.

CATILINA

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The



# The Third ORATION

Against

# CATILINE.

## The Argument.

*The Conspirators that were in the City, omitted no time or means to strengthen their Party, gaining all Citizens that were ill-inclin'd or discontented, and Strangers too: For Lentulus observing that the Allobroges, a Nation about Savoy, that now is, were deeply engag'd both on publick and private accounts, applies one Umbrenus, who had traded there, to their Embassadors; promises relief of their condition, requires them to powre in a Party of Gallick Cavalry to joyn with*  
the

# against CATILINE.

77

*the Italian Infantry. They preferring certain favour before uncertain hopes, reveal the matter to Q. Fabius Sanga, Patron of their Countrey, he discovers it to Cicero, but is advis'd to put the Ambassadors to hold on fair with them, and so sound the depth of the Business, with means to discover it. They according to direction, insist for an Oath sign'd under their hands, to carry their State, which Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius gave, Cassius onely promis'd. The Night of their departure homewards, Cicero lodges two Companies under the Captains C. Pontinius and L. Flaccus, one on either side the Pons Milvius, which way they necessarily pass, and intercepts them, their Guide Titus Vulturcius, and with them a Box of Letters both to Catiline and their Senate. Then by break of day summons a Senate into the Temple of Concord. What was there done that day, being the V. of December in the Evening, informs the People at the Place of Assembly.*

I. ! You

1. **Y**OU see, Countreymen, the State, and all your Lives, your Goods, Estates, Wives, and Children, and this Seat of the most renowned Empire, the most fortunate and beautiful City, this day by the peculiar love of the Immortal Gods towards you; by my labours, counsels, and dangers, rescued from Fire and Sword, and out of the very Jaws of destruction, and preserved and restored to you.

2. Now if those dayes, wherein we are delivered, are no less delightful and remarkable to us, than those whereon we are born; because the joy of our being preserved is certain, the condition whereunto we are born, uncertain; and because we are not sensible of our being born but take delight at our being preserved. In

truth

truth, since that we have extolled in love and glory *Romulus*, that founded this City (a) to the Immortal Gods, he, sure, that has preserved this City so founded and enlarged, shall have reason to find some esteem with you and your posterity. For we have quenched those Brands, which were put to, well nigh, and laid about, the Temples, Oratories, Houses, and Battlements of the whole City. We too have beaten back the Swords drawn against the State, and have warded off the points of them from your Throats.

3. All which having been in the Senate cleared, manifested, and discovered by me, I will now in short report to you, Country-

men, a Shape more excellent than humane, and by him sent a certain Message to the Senate, upon which depended the future glory of that Empire.

(a) When *Romulus* was for his absolute and rough disposition in Government, torn in pieces (as some suspected) by the Senate: the same Senate to allay the grief of the People and colour that Action, voted him Divine Honours: what time also *Julius Proculus* a Roman Knight, made Oath that he had appeared to him in a

men, that you, who both are ignorant, and desirous to be informed, may know, both how great, and how plain they are; and by what course traced out and taken. First of all, since *Catiline*, a few dayes ago, broke out of the City, having left in *Rome* the Complices of his Treason, and the most stout Commanders of this Unnatural War, I alwayes have been vigilant and provident, Countrey-men, how we might be safe amidst so great and secret Plottings. For then, when *I routed Catiline* out of Town (nor do I now fear the Censure of that word, the contrary being rather to be apprehended, that he went out alive) but then, when I desired him to be banished the Verge of this Court, I either thought that the rest of the Conspirators would have gone out together, or that those

those who tarried behind, would be weak and disabled without him.

4. But now since I saw that those, who, I know, were inflamed with the greatest rage and malignancy, were amongst us, and tarried behind at *Rome*, I employed all my time day and night, to discover and see what they consulted and designed; that so, seeing my report could find but small credit with your Ears, by reason of the hainousness of the Treason, I might render the matter so evident, that you should then in your minds provide for your safety, when you saw with your Eyes the naked Conspiracy: Therefore, as soon as I came to know that the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges* had been tampered with by *P. Lentulus*, to raise a *Transalpine War*, and to put all *Gaul* into an up-

roar, and that they were sent in-  
to Gauland, to their Countrey-  
men, and under one, with Letters  
and Instructions to *Catiline*, and  
that *Vulturcius* went along in their  
Train and carried a Letter Express  
to *Catiline*: I thought I had an op-  
portunity to put into my hand,  
that what was the hardest point,  
and what I alwayes wished for  
from the Immortal Gods, the  
whole matter might be clearly dis-  
covered not onely by me but by  
the Senate and your selves.

5. Therefore yesterday, I sent  
for *L. Flaccus* and *C. Pontinius*  
Prætors, most valiant and confi-  
ding persons; I declared the whole  
matter, shewed them my plea-  
sure. Now they, as men of an e-  
minent and singular affection to the  
State, without excuse or delay,  
undertook the business: and when  
it drew towards night, got secret-  
ly



ly to (b) *Pons Milvius*, and there in the adjoining Towns so divided themselves, that the Bridge and the River Tyber was between them. They carried also along with them without any suspicion, many stout men, and I too had sent thither many choice youths, wearing Swords, out of the (c) Jurisdiction of Reate; whose service I continually make use of in guiding of the State.

6. Now the Third Watch being near ended, so soon as the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, with a great Train began to be upon the Bridge, and *Vulturcius* with them, they are assailed, Swords were drawn both by them and by ours. The matter was known onely to the Prators, was unknown to the rest. Then at the coming in of *Pontinus* and *Flaccus*, the Fray, that was engaged in, is appeased.

(b) *Pons Milvius* a Town two Mile from Rome in the Via Flaminia, where was a Bridge over the Tyber not unlike our Bow-Bridge.

(c) Towns where Markets were kept every Ninth day, and Causes heard, or Sessions and Assizes held, were call'd *Præfecturæ*. Reate is a Town of the Sabines, the very Navel of Italy and Countrey of Varro.

Whatever Letters were in that  
 Retinue, are delivered with the  
 Seals entire to the Prætors; the  
 persons apprehended are brought  
 before me about break of day:  
 Hereupon I sent for the most dan-  
 gerous Contriver of all these  
 Plots, *Clodius Albinus*, suspecting  
 no such matter; then afterwards  
*P. Statilius* is fetcht, and after  
 him *Cethegus*; latest of all came  
*Lentulus*. I suppose because in  
 making dispatches, late last night  
 he had fate up beyond his ordinary  
 hour.

7. Now when it was the opini-  
 on of the most eminent and hono-  
 rable Men of the City, who upon  
 hearing the matter, came early to  
 my house in great number; That  
 the Letters should be first opened by  
 me, before they were moved in the  
 House, lest; if there should be no-  
 thing in them, so great an Alarm  
 might

might seem to have been rashly given the City. I said, I would not, but in a publick danger, propound the matter first to the Publick Council. For, Countreymen, if that had not been in them, which I was informed of, yet I did not suspect, that in so great dangers of the State, the blame of over-diligence, were to be feared by me, I suddenly called a full House, as you see.

8. And in the mean time, presently at the advice of the *Allobroges*, dispatched *C. Sulpitius* the Prætor, a stout man, to search for Arms in the House of *Cethegus*; from whence he brought out a great quantity of Stiletto's and Swords. I call'd in *Vulturnius* without the Gauls, and by the Order of the House passed the Publick Faith to him, advising him, that without fear he would

discover what he knew: thereupon he, being scarcely come to himself from a great fright, said, that he had instructions from Pub. Lentulus to Catiline, and Letters that he should use the assistance of Slaves, and bring his Army with all expedition up to the City, to that intent, that when they had fired the City in all Corners, as it was laid out and divided, and had made an infinite Massacre of the Citizens; he might be at hand to glean up them that escaped, and joyn his Forces with these City Commanders.

2. But the Gauls, brought in, said, They had an Oath and Letters given to them by P. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, to their Nations, and that such Orders were given them, by these, and by L. Cossius, they should send their Cavalry with all speed into Italy, and

and for Infantry they should not want. Also that Lentulus had assured them out of the Sylls Books and the Prophecies of South-sayers, that he is that Third Cornelius, to whom the Sovereignty and Empire of this City must come. That Sulla and Cinnna had been before him, and that he said this year was fatal for the destruction of this City and Empire, being the (d) 10th. year after the Absolution of the Virgins, and (e) the twentieth since the Burning of the Capitol. They said too that there was this Controversie between Cethegus and the rest, that whereas Lentulus and the others would have the Massacre made, and the City

(d) Absolution] Marcius and Licinia were absolved by L. Metellus High Priest, with the whole College, only Emilia condemned for Incest.

(e) Burning] L. Scipio and Norbanus being Consuls, the Capitol which had stood from the time of the Kings 400 years and upward, and was before the Usurpation of Sulla burnt.

(f) The *burnt on the* (f) Saturnalia. Cethegus thought, that was too long.

10. Now, not to be tedious, Countrey-men, we commanded the Letters to be produced, which were said to have been delivered by each person respectively. The first we shewed to Cethegus, he knew the Seal; we cut the thread; read it: There was written with his own hand, *To the Senate and the People of the Allobroges, that he would effect, what he had assured their Ambassadors: desiring that they also, on their part would effect what their Ambassadors should direct them.* Then Cethegus, who a little before had made some answer about the Swords and Daggers which were found in his House, and had said, *That he was always a Lover of good Blades:* Upon reading the Letters, being dismayed

(f) The Feast of Saturn was the 19th of December, what time the whole City us'd to go to the Mount Aventine, there to sacrifice and keep Festival as it were in the Countrey. The Chief Magistrates were therefore then to be out of Town, and much licence allow'd the Apprentices and Slaves, who were for that time of mis-rule exempted from the commands of their Masters.

ed and confounded, through the Conviction of his Conscience, was of a sudden put to silence. *Stati-  
lius* was brought in, he knew both his Seal and his Hand; the Letters were read to the same purpose in a manner, as he confessed it. Then I shewed *Lentulus* his Letter, and inquired, *Whether he knew the Seal?* By nod he owned it. *I marry,* said I, *It is a Noted Seal, the I-  
mage of your Grandfather, a most Honourable Person, who bare a sin-  
gular affection to his Countrey and Countreymen, which might of it  
self, though dumb, reclaim you from  
so great a Treason.*

11. The Letter in the same tenor, to the Senate and People of the *Allobroges* is read, *if he had  
any thing to say for himself in this  
matter,* I gave him liberty. There-  
upon he first denied it, but a little  
after, the whole Information be-  
ing

ing produced and declared, he stood up, asked the Gauls *what he had to do with them, that they should come to his House?* Asked Vulturcius also the like, who having answered him in short and coherently, with resolution, by whose means, and how often they came to him; and having asked him, *Whether he had spoken nothing to them about the Sybils Books?* Then he of a sudden, being for his wickedness intatuated, shewed, how great the force of Conscience is. For, whereas he might safely have denied that, of a sudden, contrary to the expectation of all, he confessed it: So, not onely that wit of his, and

(g) P Lentulus was a Nobleman, that year one of the Eight Pretores Urbani, or Chief Justices of Rome, In speaking, his matter and language however indifferent, yet the Comeliness of his Person, Gesture of his Body, full of Art and Gracefulness, a sweet and loud Voice, did wonderfully set off.

(g) practice of speaking, wherein he alwayes had good ability, but also through the greatness of

his



his manifest and convict Treason; that (h) impudence, wherein he surpassed all, and presumptuousness failed him.

12. But *Vulturnus* of a sudden requires, that the Letters should be produced and opened, which, he said, were given him by *Lentulus* to carry to *Catiline*. Thereupon *Lentulus* being exceedingly confounded, yet knew his Seal and Hand. Now they were written without any Name, but thus: *Who I am, you shall know of this Bearer, whom I have sent Express to you; look that you play the man, and consider what pass you are come to, and see what is at the present necessary for you. Look that you take on the Aids of all, even of the meanest.* Then *Gabinus* brought in, when as at

(h) That he wanted not confidence, may be judg'd by some Passages, for being press'd for having cheated the State, he jok'd in the Senate, he could not give his Accounts, but must hold his Legg (as at Boys-play, they that miss the Ball) to be flung at. Legg is the surname of that Family, and given him as a Nick-name.

Also in a certain Trial having brib'd the Judges, and coming off by two Voices, he said, There was so much money lost as the other had, when it had been enough to have come off by one Voice.

first he began to answer peremptorily, at last denied nothing of that which the *Gauls* charged upon him.

13. Now as to me, Countrymen, whereas those Arguments and Proofs of the Treason seem most certain, the Letters, Seals, Hands, lastly, the Confession of every one; so did those other seem more sure, their Colour, Eyes, Looks, Silence: For they were so amaz'd, so fix'd their Looks on the ground, so sily now and then eyed one another, that no longer by others, but they seem'd to be by themselves discover'd. The Proofs being produced and declared, I put the Question to the Senate, *What they would resolve upon for securing the State?* Most severe and courageous Votes were given by the leading Men, which the Senate followed.

followed without any dissent; and because the Order is not yet drawn up, I shall repeat to you, Countrymen, by heart what the Senate voted.

14. First of all, *The Thanks of the House* were given me in an ample manner; because by my courage, counsel, providence, the Commonwealth had been delivered from most imminent dangers. Then L. Flaccus and Caius Pomplinius are deservedly and justly praised; because they had courageously and faithfully executed what I committed to their Charge. Ca. Antonius a valiant man, my Colleague, has his share of praise given him too, for having removed those that were engaged in this Conspiracy from his Cabinet Council and the Secrets of State. And thus they resolved, That (i) P. Lentulus having first laid down the Pratorship, should be taken

They were committed not into the publick Gaile but confin'd under the custody of certain Great men. (i) P. Lentulus was taken. P. Lentulus Spinther who was taken. Edilis (an Officer as a Mayor.)

(k) C. Cethegus to Q. C. Cethegus, (l) L. Scatilius, and (m) Publius Gabinus, who were all personally present, should be committed: (n) and the same was voted too against L. Cassius, who had sued for a Commission to fire the City: against (o) M. Caprinus, to whom, as it was informed, A-

palia was allotted, for drawing in the Herdsmen: against P. Furius, who is of those Plantations, that

L. Sulla settled in Fesula: against Q. Magnus Chilo, who together with this Furius, was alwayes busie in this practising the At-

tempts: against P. Umbrenus, a Freedman, by whom as it was evidenced, the Gauls were first brought in to Gabinus.

15. And the Senate used such Gentleness, Countreymen, that, out of so great a Conspiracy, and such a power and multitude of

home-

taken into Custody: Also that (k) thegus to Q. C. Cethegus, (l) L. Scatilius, and (m) Publius Gabinus, who were all personally present, should be committed: (n) and the same was voted too against L. Cassius, who had sued for a Commission to fire the City: against (o) M. Caprinus, to whom, as it was informed, A-

home-bred Enemies, the Common-wealth being preserved by the punishment of nine most rotten members, it is supposed the minds of the rest may be cured. And further, a Thanksgiving to the Immortal Gods for their exceeding goodness, was voted to be kept upon my account; which has never been done before to any in the Long Robe since the Foundation of the City, but to me: and it was drawn up in these words; *Because I had delivered the City from fire, the Citizens from slaughter, and Italy from war.* Which Thanksgiving if it be compared with others, Countrymen, this difference may be found, that others have been appointed for serving mine for the preserving of the State. And that which was in the first place to be done, is passed and performed. For P. *Lentulus,*

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ad (99)  
ad (100)

(p) The  
form of his  
degrading  
from the  
Chief Ju-  
stice-ship  
was such,  
that he was  
disrob'd of  
his Scarlet  
Gown in the  
Senate, and  
put on  
Mourning  
Weeds suita-  
ble to his  
condition, as  
being a Cri-  
minal under  
Tryal.

*Lentulus*, although discovered by his Proofs and Confessions, had been by the Judgement of the Senate (p.) degraded not onely from the Dignity of Prætor, but from the Liberty of a Citizen, yet did lay down his Magistracy; that, what *C. Marius*, that excellent person never scrupled at for the killing of *C. Glancia*, the Prætor, against whom there was no Vote passed by name, we might be deliver'd of that scruple, in executing *Lentulus* a private man.

16. Now, seeing, Countrey-men, you have the unnatural Generals of this most wicked and dangerous Rebellion, in hold and prison, ye ought to judge, that all the forces of *Catiline*, all his hopes and strength, these dangers of the City being prevented, are fallen to the ground: whom indeed when I turned out of Town, I fore-

fore-saw this in my mind; Countrymen, that if *Catiline* were got out of the way, I had no reason to fear, either the drowsiness of *P. Lentulus*; or the fat guts of *L. Cassius*; nor the hot-headed rashness of *Ca. Cethegus*. He was the only person of them all to be feared, but so long as he continued within the Town, he had intelligence of every thing; he had access to every body: He had ability, had confidence, to break the question to them, to feel them, to practise them: He had a Head shaped for any Exploit; and to that Head, was wanting neither Tongue nor Hand. Now for the execution of his other business, he had certain choice and suitable Instruments: Nor yet, as soon as he had given a thing in Charge, did he reckon his work done; there was nothing but he

H

over,

overlooked himself, compassed in good time, watched and drudged for; could bear Cold, Thirst, Hunger.

17. This person, so eager, so forward, so audacious, so subtle, so watchful at his Treason, so active in mischief, had I not driven from his secret Ambushes in Town, to open action in the Field (to tell you, Countreymen, what I think) I had not easily prevented this great mischief from falling upon your Necks. He would not have pitched you the *Saturnales*; nor so long before have given out the fatal day for the destruction of the State, neither would he have been so far overseen, as that his Seal, his Letters, no, not that any witnesses of such open Treason, should be produced. All which, now in his absence, have been so carried, that never was theft in any private house



house so openly detected; as this so great Conspiracy in the State has been found and convicted. But if *Catiline* had tarried in Town to this day, although as long as he was here, I obviated and prevented his designs, yet to speak with the lowest, we must have fought with him, nor could we ever, as long as that Enemy had been in Town, with so great peace, such quiet, such silence, have freed the State from so great dangers.

18. Although all these things, Countreymen, I have so managed, that they may be perceiv'd to have been fore-seen and carried on by the Councel and Guidance of the Immortal Gods. Which, as we may conjecture, because the conduct of such weighty affairs may hardly be judged within the compass of humane policies, so

indeed in such present manner of late have they aided and assisted us, that we might almost see them with our Eyes : For, to wave those things, Meteors like Torches in the West, seen by night, and the Heavens as it were all on fire, to pass by Lightnings, Earthquakes, and the other Prodigies, which have happened in our Consulship, so many, that the Immortal Gods seem with a Voice from Heaven to have proclaim'd the things which are now come to pass. This one thing, Countrey-men, which I shall mention, must neither be omitted, nor neglected.

19. For yee must needs remember, when Cotta and Torquatus were Consuls, that many Turrets in the Capitol were struck with Lightning, what time also the Images of the Immortal Gods were beaten down, and the Statues

ties of Ancient Men overthrown,  
and (q) the Brass Tables of the  
Law melted; *Romulus* too, that  
founded this City, was smitten,  
whom, you remember to have been  
gilt in the Capitol, a Babe, and  
sucking with the Wolves Teats in  
his Mouth. At what time, the  
Diviners, having been convened  
from all *Etruria* said, That Slaugh-  
ters and Fires, and the abolition of  
the Laws, and Civil and Dome-  
stic Wars, and ruin of the whole  
City and Empire did approach;  
unless the Immortal Gods, attoned  
by all means, should by their abso-  
lute power almost alter the course of  
Fate.

(q) As we engrave our Acts of Parliament and file the Originals up in the Records; so the ancient Romans when their Law had been the third Mar- ket-day ap- prov'd by the People, en- grav'd it in Brass Tables and laid it up in the Treasury. The XII. Tables so en- grav'd, were laid up in the Tower.

20. Therefore upon their In-  
terpretations at that time, both  
Plays were for ten days celebrated,  
and nothing omitted, which  
might tend towards the atone-  
ment of the Gods. The same

Southsayers too gave order, *To make a larger Image of Jupiter, and to place it on high, and turn it East, contrary to what it had been before; and said, They had hopes, if that Image, which you see, looked towards the East, and the Judgement-Hall and the Senate-House, it would come to pass, that those designs, which were secretly plotted against the safety of the City and Empire, should be brought to light; so that they might be clearly seen by the Senate and People of Rome.* Now those Consuls agreed with Workmen to have it erected in that posture; but the slowness of the Work was such, that it was neither set up by the former Consuls, nor by us till this very day.

21. Here, who can be so destitute of Truth, so obstinate, so senseless, as to deny this whole visible

sible World, and especially this City, to be ruled by the providence and power of the Immortal Gods: For whereas such Interpretation was given, that *Slaughters, Fires, and Subversion of the State, were in contriving, and that by lewd Citizens*; which at that time for the hainousness of the Crimes, seemed to some incredible: You have found those things, not onely designed, but also attempted by unnatural Citizens. And is not that so plain a thing, that it may seem to have come to pass by the Guidance of the good and great *Jupiter*, that when as to day morning, both the Conspirators and the Informers against them, were by my order carried into the *Temple of Concord*, at that very time the Image was setting up? Which being placed, and turned towards you and the

Senate, both the Senate and you have seen what things were contrived against the safety of every one, to be all brought to light and manifested.

22. So much the more hatred and punishment were they worthy of, who have endeavoured to wrap in a deadly and unnatural Flame, not onely your Seats and Houses, but also the Temples and Oratories of the Immortal Gods; whom, if I should say that I resisted, I should take too much upon me, and were intolerable: It was that, that *Jupiter* that resisted them. He was pleased to preserve the Capitol; he, to preserve these Temples; he, this City; he, all of you. By the guidance of the Immortal Gods, I receiv'd these impressions and impulses, and attained to these so evident proofs. Now this pra-  
aising

raising of the *Allobroges*, a  
 business of such importance,  
 would never truly have been so  
 fortitiously trusted by *Lentulus*,  
 and the other home-bred En-  
 mies, both to Strangers and  
 to Barbarians; nor Letters com-  
 mitted, unless by the judge-  
 ment of the Immortal Gods so  
 desperate an attempt had been  
 deprived of ordinary prudence;  
 nay, that *Gauls* being of a State  
 hardly well-reduced, which is the  
 onely Nation left, that seems  
 both able and not unwilling to  
 make War with the *Roman People*,  
 should yet neglect the hope of  
 Empire and of great advantages,  
 freely offered them by Patrici-  
 ans, and should prefer your safe-  
 ty before their own power: Do  
 you not think that this came  
 from God? especially when they  
 might have overcome us, not by  
 fighting,

fighting , but by holding their peace?

23 Therefore, Countreymen, seeing that *a Thanksgiving* is voted before all *the Images* , solemnize those dayes with your Wives and Children. For many honours have been justly and of due given to the Immortal Gods , but in truth none ever more justly : For being rescued from most cruel and miserable destruction , rescued without slaughter, without blood, without Army , without fighting, in your Gowns , I being your Commander and General in the Long Robe , yee have gotten the Victory.

24. Now call to mind , Countreymen , all Civil Dissentions , not those onely , which yee have heard of , but these also , which your selves do remember and have seen : *L. Sulla* suppressed  
(r) *P. Sub-*



(r) *P. Sulpitius*; he banish'd *C. Marius*, the Preserver of this City, and many valiant men, he partly banished, partly slew. (s) *Cn. Octavius* being Consul, chased out his Colleague from the Town by force of Arms. All this place was covered with heaps of Corpses and the blood of Citizens. Afterwards (t) *Cinna* and *Marius* prevailed. But then (u)

the one at Ambrun, the other at Aix la Chappelle.

(f) *C. Cornelius Cinna* would have got certain Laws pass'd when *L. Sulla* was abroad; *Cn. Octavius* the other Consul forc'd him away by the overthrow of his party in Town, degraded him from the Consulship, and proclaim'd him a Rebel and Traitor.

(t) *Cinna* afterwards gathered forces in Italy, and *Marius* coming over joyns with him; as also *Sertorius* and *Cn. Catbo*, they march up in four Bodies and take Rome.

(u) *Cn. Octavius* the Consul, *Q. Catulus*, *L. Merula* the Priest of Jupiter, *M. Antony* and *C. Cæsar* two most eminent

(r) *P. Sulpitius* a Tribune of the Commons, would have got certain Laws pass'd; the Consuls oppose; he with the favour of *Marius* sat upon them and kills the Son of *Q. Pompey*, who was Son in Law of *Sulla* the other Consul; *Sulla* brings up his Army to Town, overthrows the Tribunes, and excepts from pardon for Life or Estate, 12 men, whereof *P. Sulpitius* is taken and slain; but *Marius* by ship got over to Africa, *C. Marius* is called the Preserver of Rome, because he overthrew two powerful and victorious Armies of the Gauls pressing into Italy,

the

Orators, Crassus the Father and Son, and other Noblemen of the adverse party without number were slain; the Senate met him; as he pass'd by them with a Band of Slaves at his heels, whomsoever he did not reach out his hands to salute them, the Slaves presently slew.

(x) Sulla upon the news of this piece up a Peace with Mithridates and brings home his Army into Italy, overthrows his adversaries, but then he fill'd the City and all Italy with slaughter, kill'd 90 Senators, of which 15 were Consular men; 2400 Knights, 70000 Roman Citizens in cold blood, over and above innumerable slain in Battel.

(y) Either because it was fresh in memory, or for the atrocity of the fact.

(z) M. Lepidus about the funeral and disanulling the Acts of Sulla, Q. Catulus (Son of Q. Catulus above) said to be slain by Cinna, when their Consulship was ended, they sought it out in the Campus Martius, where Lepidus being beaten, fled into Sardinia, and there died a natural death.

the most eminent men being slain, the eyes of the City were put out; afterwards (x) Sulla avenged the cruelty of this Victory; with how great diminution of the Citizens and calamity of the State (y) it need not be mentioned. (z) M. Lepidus dissented from Quintus Catulus, a most gallant and valiant man, not so much his own destruction brought sorrow to the Common-wealth as that of others.

25. And these dissensions were of this nature ; Countreymen , as tended not to the abolition , but the change of Government. These men did not desire the State should be confounded , but that themselves should be the principals in such as was. Nor would they have the City burnt , but themselves to flourish in it ; yet all these dissensions , whereof none desired the destruction of the State , were such , as they were decided , not by an accommodation of parties , but by the Carnage of Citizens. But in this War , the greatest and cruellest of any recorded ; such a War as never any Barbarians waged with their own Nation : in which War , this Condition was resolved upon by *Lentulus* , *Catiline* , *Cassius* , *Cethegus* : That all they , who could save themselves in saving the City , should

should have no Quarter given; I have so behaved my self, Countrymen, that all of you are preserv'd in safety. And when as your Enemies had reckon'd, that so many Citizens should survive as were the remainder of a boundless Massacre; and so much of the City should stand, as the flame could not take in, I have preserv'd both City and Citizens safe and sound.

(a) *Preferment.*

(b) *Triumph.*

(c) *Statue.* M. Cato the Elder said, I had rather men should enquire why has Cato no Image? than why hath he one?

And Agesilaus the Lacedaemonian General when the Greeks in Asia had

order'd him Statues to be set up in their most famous Cities, wrote to them to this purpose, Let there be no Picture nor Molten or Graven Image of me; and dying, requested the like of his Friends; for if, saith he, I have done any worthy Action, that will of it self be my Monument: but if not, all Statues that can be made, can be no Monument to me. *Alike moderation of spirit Tully preserv'd, when having been Pro-*

26. For which so great actions, Countrymen, I require from you no (a) Reward of Vertue, nor (b) Badge of Honour, nor (c) Monument

*consul*

## against CATILINE. III

*consul or Lieutenant of Asia, and govern'd in that Charge with great integrity, would yet admit onely verbal acknowledgments, but continued to refuse erecting Statues to him.*

nument of praise besides the everlasting memory of this day. I would have deposited and erected in your Bosomes, all my Triumphs, all Ornaments of Honour, Monuments of Glory, Badges of Praise. No dumb thing can take with me, nothing silent; in a word, nothing of that nature, which men of not any great merit may attain. In your memory, Countrey men, shall our Actions be cherished, in your discourses shall they grow up, in the Records of History shall they come to age and full strength; and I judge, that the same length of time, which I hope will be paralel to Eternity, is propagated both to the preservation of this City, and to the memory of my Consulship;

fulship; and that at one time in  
 (d) Pam- this State were (d) two Citizens;  
 pey and Ca- the one whereof has bounded the  
 sat. extent of your Empire, nor by the  
 Terrestrial but the Celestial Regi-  
 ons; the other preserved the Man-  
 sion and Seat of the same Em-  
 pire.

27. But, because there is not a  
 like fortune and condition of the  
 things which I have acted; as of  
 those, who have waged foreign  
 wars; because I must live with  
 them I have vanquished and sub-  
 dued; they have left their En-  
 mies, either slain, or brought in-  
 to bondage. It is your part,  
 Countreymen; to provide, if o-  
 thers good actions advantage  
 them, that mine may not come to  
 prejudice me. For, that the trea-  
 cherous and unnatural intentions  
 of audacious men, might not hurt  
 you, I have provided: that they  
 may

may not hurt me, it is your part to provide. Although Countrey-men, my self cannot be hurt by them; for there is great protection in the good Party, which is gained to me for ever: Great dignity in the State, which will alwayes silently defend me; there is a great aw of Conscience, which whosoever shall slight, when they go about to hurt me, will betray themselves.

28 There is further in us such resolution, Countreymen, that we are so far from giving way to the boldness of any, as we do alwayes voluntarily desie all Traitors. Now if all the assaults of the home-bred Enemies diverted from you, should return upon my single person, you, Countreymen, must look to it: In what condition you would have them hereafter stand, who shall interpose themselves

selves to Envy and all dangers for your preservation. For my self; what is there more, that can be acquired to the content of life, especially since I see no higher step, that I care to ascend either in Place of Honour from you, or in Praise of Vertue.

29. Thus, Countreymen, in truth I will effect; what I have managed in my Consulship, when I am come to be a private man, to maintain and improve. That if any Envy for preserving the State, has been incurred, it may turn to their hurt onely that bear it; but to my glory. In summe, I will so deport my self in the State, alwayes to remember what I have acted, and give diligence, that it may appear to have been managed by vertue and not fortune. You, Countreymen, seeing it is now Night, go pray to that Jupiter,

the



*against* CATILINE.

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the Guardian of this City and your  
selves, and go away to your Hou-  
ses, and though the danger be now  
over, yet watch and ward them as  
yee did the Night before; that yee  
may not long be put to that trouble,  
but continue in peace without inter-  
ruption, I shall provide.

THE FOURTH ORATION  
AGAINST  
CATILINE.

The Argument.

*The Conspiracy being thus fully discover'd, a Senate is call'd on the VI. of December, with Order that a Reward be bestow'd on the Ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Vulturcius, for giving Information of the Plot, and in the Night to avoid a Tumult of the People, the Prisoners were convey'd into the Common Gaol; but Lentulus by divers of his Liberti and Clients, spread into several Quarters, assay'd to hire Workmen and Shop-keepers to rise and rescue him.*

*So*

So Cethegus animated his Fencers  
and stout men that were in his Crew,  
to make their way in to him with their  
Weapons. Upon notice of which Tul-  
ly calls the Senate again on the VII.  
and puts it to the Question what the  
House please should be done with the  
Prisoners. Where finding them divid-  
ed, and some out of tenderness to  
him inclinable to a less severe Cen-  
sure, he perswadeth them to be unani-  
mous, and before Night pass their Sen-  
tence with diligence and courage.

I. I See, my Lords, all your  
faces and eyes turned to-  
wards me, I see you solicitous, not  
onely for your own and the Com-  
monwealths danger, but, (al-  
though that be prevented) for  
mine also. Your affection to me  
in this perplexity, I take kindly,  
and thankfully, amidst my grief;  
but I beseech you, for the Immor-  
tal Gods sake, lay that aside, and  
forgetting my safety, think upon  
I 3 your

your selves and your own Children. For my part, if this have been made the Condition of my Consulship, that I must undergo all extremities, all pains and torments, I shall endure them, not onely courageously, but even contentedly, so that by my pangs, deliverance and honour may be brought forth to you and the Roman People.

2. I am that Consul, my Lords, who have never found the Pleading-Hall; wherein all Equity is preserved, nor the Camp consecrated to the Election of Consuls; nor the Senate, the supream relief of all Nations; nor my own House, the Common Refuge; nor Bed, ordained for repose; nor lastly, this Seat of Honour, the Ivory Chair, free from the danger of my Life and Plots; nor I have concealed much, endured much, yielded much,

much I have with some regret  
of my own in your fears, healed  
much. Now if the Immortal  
Gods are pleased to have this the  
issue of my Consulship, that I  
should rescue you, my Lords, and  
the Roman People from a misera-  
ble Massacre, your Wives and  
Children and the Vestal Virgins,  
from most violent haling, their  
Temples and Oratories, and this  
the most noble Countrey of every  
one of us, from a most execrable  
flame; all *Italy* from war and de-  
solation; whatever fortune shall  
be proposed to my single person,  
let it fall. For if *P. Lentulus*, se-  
duced by Fortune-tellers, has  
thought his Name should be fatal  
to the destruction of the State;  
why should not I rejoyce, that my  
Consulship has been almost fatal  
to the preservation of the Com-  
mon-wealth.

3. Wherefore, my Lords, look to your own interest; provide for your Countrey, preserve your Wives, Children, and Estates; defend the Name and safety of the Roman People; forbear your tenderness for me, and to be anxious on my behalf. For first, I have grounds to hope, that all the Gods, that are Tutelar to the City, will render unto me according to my desert. Then, if any thing should fall out amiss, I shall be contented and ready to die: For Death can never come dishonourable to a Valiant Person, nor untimely to him that is Consular, nor unfortunate to a Wise man. Neither yet am I so obdurate as not to be moved with the affliction of my most dear and loving (4) Brother here present, and with the tears of all these you see me surrounded with. Nor, but

(\*) Q. Cicero.

but that (b) my Wife distressed, my  
(c) Daughter distracted with fear,  
and the little Babe (d) (b) Terentia.  
(c) Tullia.  
my Son, whom the (d) Tullius the  
younger Common-wealth seems  
to hug as the Hostage  
of my Consulship, do (e) Crassipes was the  
first husband of Tullia,  
she married Dolabel-  
la (here present) and last  
of M. Cn. Piso.  
often call my thoughts  
home; nor am I un-  
concerned for my (e)  
Son in Law, who stands There is to be noted the  
decorum which was obser-  
ved, that his Brother and  
Son-in-Law were at seve-  
ral distances present, to  
move compassion, the Wo-  
men and little Child kept  
at home.  
here in my sight, wait-  
ing for the issue of this  
day. I am moved at  
all these things, but to  
that side, that they may be all  
preserved with you; although a-  
ny violence should overwhelm me,  
rather than that they and we  
should be involved in the universal  
ruin of the State.

4. Wherefore (my Lords) ap-  
ply yourselves to the preservation  
of the Common-wealth; look  
well

well about for the Storms, that hang over you, unless you provide against them. It is not a *Tib. Gracchus*, that would the second time be made Tribune of the Commons; not *G. Gracchus*, that endeavoured to stir up men to the Claims of Publick Lands; not *M. Saturninus*, that slew *G. Memmius* is called in question, and brought to the Tryal of your Severity: But those are in hold, who tarried at *Rome* for the burning of the City, the massacring of all of you, and letting in of *Catiline*. Their Letters, Seals, Hands, are produced, in a word, every ones Confession; the *Allobroges* are practised, Slaves raised, *Catiline* invited: such a Plot was laid, that all should be cut off, and none left, no not so much as to deplore the Name of the People of *Rome*, and lament the Calamity of so great an Empire.

5. All



5. All this Informers have declared, the Criminals have confessed, your selves have by many Verdicts already prejudged: first, in that yee gave me thanks in singular terms, and did declare that by my vertue and diligence the Conspiracy of desperate men was discovered. Then in that ye obliged P. Lenculus to lay down the Pratorship. Then that you voted both him and the others, on whom you pass'd Sentence to be committed; and especially in that you ordered a Thanksgiving in my behalf; which honour has not been given to any in the Long Robe before me. Lastly, In that yesterday, you gave most large Rewards to the Ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Vulturcius. All which things are of that nature, that those who have been put in prison by name, may, without any Controversie appear

pear to have been condemn'd by you.

6. But I have resolved to move the Question anew to you, both concerning the fact, what you judge of it, and concerning the punishment, what you resolve upon: yet I will onely premise what belongs to my place as Consul. I long since saw a great malignancy working in the State, and certain new mischiefs brewing and stirring: but that, so great, so deadly a Conspiracy as this was made by Citizens, I never dreamt. Now whatever it be to which your minds and resolutions bend, you must determine it before night. How great a Treason has been discovered, you see. If you think but few to be accessory to it, you are greatly mistaken. The mischief is spread farther than you imagine. It is diffused not onely

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onely over all Italy, but has past beyond the Alps, and creeping secretly, has already seized many Provinces. It can by no means be crushed by forbearing and delaying; whatever way you think fit, it must suddenly be punished.

7. I see as yet but two Votes, the one of D. Silanus, who resolves, that, *They which endeavoured to destroy these things, should be punished with death.* The other of C. Caesar, (a) who ex-

cludes what they termed a Capital Offence or Punishment. The instances of those that under colour of High Treason were put to death, have been in all the Ages of that State but rare and numerable; such as seem to have much of violence upon jealousies of a prevailing party; for ought appears in History not very well grounded, rather than any crimes duely proved, as suspicions of desiring the Alteration of State or affectation of usurping a Kingly Power, upon an interpretation of some Actions that might alike flow from men of Publick Spirits, but otherwise the Priviledge or indeed Prerogative of the Citizen and Freeman of Rome, was now grown almost unbounded. The Valerian, the Porcian, the Sempronian Laws had so fenced the Persons of that Imperial People from suffering, and were so largely interpreted in their favour by Popular

(a) In the Roman Democracy Feudatories and standers were not punishable by Death nor Possessors of Estate, but the Party convicted was banish'd and lost his Freedom, which was all that they imply'd in the common acceptance of

lar Governour, that it was made a Question, where, whether Death or any other Corporal Punishment, might in any case be inflicted by the Magistrate upon a Roman Citizen? The Negative of which Cæsar maintains. To which absurdity the Government of a Free State naturally reduces it self; for where the Majesty is in all, there the Persons of all are sacred, and this is Total Liberty, or the very dissolution of Government, and alike demonstrates the Perfection of Monarchy, where Law hath the largest extent and Authority the highest Sanction.

cludes the penalties of death, but takes in all Extremities of other punishments. The one and the other both according to his dignity and the Atrocity of the Fact deals with the highest severity. The one judges, That, They who endeavoured to deprive us all, and the Roman People of life, to raze the Empire, to extinguish the name of the Roman People, ought not one moment to enjoy life and this air we breath in. And quotes Presidents that this sort of punishment has been often used against seditious Citizens in this State. The other is

of this judgement, That Death  
was never appointed by the Immor-  
tal Gods for a punishment, but either  
a natural necessity or rest from la-  
bours and miseries; therefore that  
Wise men never unwillingly and Val-  
liant Men have often cheerfully em-  
braced death; but that Bonds, and  
those everlasting, have in truth been  
invented for the singular punishment  
of unnatural wickedness. Hereupon  
he orders, that they should be im-  
prisoned in the several Burroughs.  
This thing, if you command it,  
seems to carry oppression with it;  
difficulty, if you require it; yet  
let it pass, if it be your will and  
pleasure. For I shall promise,  
and I hope prove the man that  
does not think it suitable to his  
Office, to dispute that which you  
shall determine for the publick  
good.

8. He

3. He orders, that the punishment  
 shall be upon the Burgers, if any of  
 them shall break prison, & claps dread-  
 ful Guards upon them and enacts  
 What is due to the Treason of such  
 desperate Villains; that No one  
 hereafter should move either the Se-  
 nate or People to mitigate their pu-  
 nishment whom he condemns; yea  
 he cuts off even hope, which alone  
 is wont to be the comfort of men  
 in misery. Besides, he orders,  
 that their goods be confiscated,  
 that every life to the miserable,  
 which he had cut off, he had with  
 one pang cut away many tortments  
 of body and mind, and all the pa-  
 rishments of their villanies: Where-  
 fore that he might be sent down  
 overboard in this life; Those in  
 another time would have some such  
 punishment ordained for the wicked  
 in Hell, because it seems they were  
 of judgement, That if those were  
 2H 3 remo-

removed, death it self were not to be  
dreaded.

9. Now, my Lords, I see  
what it makes for my interest, if  
you shall follow Caesar's Vote;  
seeing he has stood that course  
which is counted popular in the  
State; perchance I shall have less  
reason to dread the insults of the  
People; he being the Author and  
Perswader of this Resolution. If  
you shall choose the other, I do  
not know, whether I shall have  
any further trouble at all. But  
yet let the advantage of the State  
prevail over the Considerations of  
my private dangers. For we have  
from C. Caesar as his own dignity  
and the honour of his Ancestors  
required, this his Vote as an Ho-  
stage of his perpetual good affec-  
tion to the State. It is to be  
discerned, what difference there is,  
between the vanity of Dema-

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gogues

gogues and a mind truly popular, seeking the safety of the People.

10. I see some body of these that would be counted popular, absent, *that they may not pass Sentence on Roman Citizens* in good time. The same person both the other day committed *Cethegus* and *P. Lentulus* Roman Citizens, to prison, and voted a Thanksgiving for me, and yesterday highly rewarded the Informers. Now, none can question what he, who has voted imprisonment to the Malefactor, thanks to the Judge, reward to the Informer, judges concerning the whole case and business. But now *C. Caesar* conceives, *The Sempronian Act* was made concerning Roman Citizens, whereas he, *that is an Enemy to the State*, can by no means be a Citizen. In a word, that, *The very Maker of the Sempronian Act*, by Order  
of



# against CATILINE.

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of the People was executed for his Treason. He too, does not think, that, Lentulus the Proud, and the great Corrupter of the People, having so bitterly and cruelly plotted the subversion of the State, and the destruction of the City, can be called popular. Therefore like a soft and good natured man, he sticks not to commit P. Lentulus to everlasting Chains and darkness, and enacts for the future, That no one, may vaunt himself in the release of his punishment, and come to be popular to the ruin of the State. He farther adds, The Confiscation of their Goods, that the want and beggary of the body may follow all the torments of the soul.

11. Wherefore, whether you shall conclude upon this, you will furnish me with a Companion to the Assembly, that is beloved and taking with the Roman Peo-

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ple;

*The Fourth Oration*

ple, or, if you shall follow that other Vote of *Silanus*, you will easily justify me and your selves from any aspersions of Cruelty, and I shall have it granted that that was far the gentler Cause. Although, my Lords, what Cruelty can there be in punishing the Inhumanity of so great Treason. Now I judge as I am sensible of the nature of the fact; for so may you and I long enjoy the quiet of the State, as my earnestness in this case does not proceed from any bitterness of spirit: (for who can be milder than I?) but from a kind of singular tenderness and compassion. For me thinks I see this City, the light of the whole world, and the Cittadel of all Nations of a sudden sinking in one Conflagration: I see in my mind my Countrey buried, heaps of Citizens, miserable and unburied,  
the

the Look of Cethegus, and his  
rage swaggering in your laughter  
passes before my eyes.

12. But when I consider *Le-  
tullus*, upon the Throne, as himself  
confessed, that he expected by  
Prophecies, this *Gabinus* his  
Courtier clad in Purple, *Catiline*  
come with his Army; then I  
dread the shrieks of honest Wo-  
men, and the flight of Virgins  
and Boys; and the halloing of Ve-  
stal Priestesses; now because these  
things seem to me miserable and  
pitiful in the Excess; therefore  
I shew my self severe and earnest  
against those, who designed to  
accomplish them. For I put the  
case, if any Master of a Family  
having had his Children dashed in  
pieces by his Servant, his Wife kil-  
led, and his House burnt should not  
inflict a most sore punishment upon  
the Slave, were he to be thought

gentle and merciful; or a most inhumane and cruel creature? In truth I should think him hard-hearted and senseless that should not ease his own grief and torment with the grief and torment of the Malefactor. So we towards those men, which would murder us, our Wives, and our Children, who endeavoured to raze the particular House of every one of us, and this General Seat of the Empire, who attempted to place the Nation of the *Alabrages* in the ruins of this City, and in the ashes of the *Consumed* Empire. If we shall be most eager, we shall be accounted merciful; if we shall be slack, we must undergo the infamy of the greatest Cruelty, in the destruction of our Countrey and Countrey-men.

13. Unless perchance, (f) E. (f) L. Caesar, a most valiant and well-affected Patriot might be thought the other day by any one somewhat cruel; when he said his Brother in Law, the Husband of his own (g) Sister, a most vertuous Lady, when he was there present and in hearing, must be put to death; when he further said, that, His Grandfather was slain by the Order of the Consul, and his young Son Ambassador from the Father, executed in the Prison; whose action how far short came it of this? What Plot was there laid to confound the Common wealth? (h) A corrupt humor of profuseness

K 4. Was Antony the father of M. Antony the Triumvir, afterwards married P. Lentulus. Plutarch notes that the execution of him was the ground of that deep gudge which was in M. Antony ever after, and at last cost fully his life.

(b) C. Gracchus his Laws were to give the Souldiers Cloaths over and above Pay, to distribute Corn amongst the Poor by Tickets constantly, to divide Lands of Conquest by way

way of Plantations. To give the Italians equal Voices with the Romans in choice of Magistrates, to appoint an equal number of Knights to be Judges, it was before of Senators one-hy. To make it punishable if any Magistrate should put a Roman Citizen to death uncondemnd, that is, without a particular Order from the general Assembly of the People; and a seventh to limit the Age of being press'd to the Wars to 17 years and upward.

was then stirring in the State, and a kind of stickling for parties. Now at that time the Grandfather of this *Lentulus*, an honourable person, in Arms pursued *Gracchus*, and then received in his Body a sore hurt, that the Majesty of the State might in no point receive abatement. This here present to subvert the foundations of the State, called in the *Gauls*, raised the Slaves, invited *Catiline*, allotted us to be assassinated by *Cethegus*, the other Citizens to be murdered by *Gabinus*, the City to be set a fire by *Cassius*, all *Italy* to be laid wast and plundered by *Catiline*,

*tiline.* You may be timorous, I warrant you, lest in so barbarous and unnatural a Treason you may be thought to have passed too severe a Sentence, when ye ought much rather to dread least by remissness of punishment you should be rather judged cruel to your Countrey, than by severity of Execution, too vigorous towards its most bitter Enemies.

14. But, my Lords, I cannot conceal, what I hear boldly spoken; for words are given out, which are come to my ears, of some as would seem to fear my having strength enough to put in execution what you shall this day enact. All things are provided, ready, and concluded upon, my Lords, both by my great care and diligence, as also by the far greater forwardness of the Roman People to retain their Empire, and preserve

(i) *There had been a long contest from the times of the Gracchi between the Senate and Knights about being Judges. The Sempronian Law admitted the Knights, this continu'd some 50 years, L. Sulla settled it on the Senators only. These prov'd very corrupt; afterwards the Aurelian Law made by Aur. Cottus divided the power equally between the Senators, the Knights, and the Commissioners of the Treasury at Wars.*

serve their common fortunes: All men of all ranks, nay of all ages are here: The Market-Place is full; all the Avenues of this House and Temple are full: For since the foundation of the City, this is the only case has arrived, wherein all persons are of one and the same mind, excepting those who seeing themselves must perish, choose rather to pull down all than to fall alone.

15. These men I am willing to exclude and separate, for neither do I reckon them in the number of bad Citizens, but of most desperate Enemies. But the rest now (Immortal Gods!) with what concourse, with what earnestness, with what courage, do they conspire to the common honour and safety? (i) What do I mention

here



here the Roman Knights, that so  
render to you in supremacy of Or-  
der and Counsel, as that in good  
affections to their Countrey, they  
contend with you; whom after  
many years dissention this day and  
this Cause joyns to us, having re-  
duced them to an agreement and  
unity with our Order, which Con-  
junction consummated in my Con-  
sulship, if we shall hold steadily  
in the Common-wealth I assure  
you, no civil and home-bred mis-  
chief shall hereafter accrue to any  
part of the State. I see the Com-  
missioners of the Treasury, most  
courageous persons, and also all  
the Clerks have flocked hither  
with the like affection to defend  
the State, whom this day having  
casually drawn to the Treasury, I  
see to be turned from attendance  
upon their Lot to the Common  
Safety. All the multitude of  
Free-

Freemen assist, even of the meanest.

For who is there, to whom these Temples, the very face of the City, possession of Liberty, in a word, this very light, and this common ground of his Countrey, is not both dear and also sweet and delightful? It is worth the while, my Lords, to observe the Factions of the Freedmen, who having by their industry purchased the fortune of the City, judge this in truth to be their own Countrey. Whereas (k) some born here, and born in the highest rank, have not judged it their Countrey, but an Enemies City. But why do I mention men of this rank, whom their private fortunes, whom the Common State, whom, lastly, that liberty, which is most sweet, has raised to defend the safety of their Countrey. There is no

Slave

(k) The Senators were omitted in the beginning of this Enumeration, as being there present, so and before whom he spoke, and so unnecessary to be mentioned. Yet the Fast on that secretly favored Catiline, was so great in the House, that he sorely taxes them, though obliquely, in this passage.

Slave, that is but in a tolerable condition of service; but dreads, but desires to withstand the audaciousness of desperate Citizens, but contributes as much as he dares, and as much as he can, to the common endeavour after safety.

17. Wherefore, if what hath been said, do chance to weigh with any of you, that a certain Pimp of *Lentulus's*, bustles about the Shops, hoping that the minds of indigent and simplemen may be wrought upon with money; such a thing indeed was set on foot; and attempted; but there were none found so much either in fortune miserable, or in Principles debauched; but desired that very (l) place of his Stall and work, and daily earnings; (m) but his bare lodging and bed; (n) nay, but the very idle course of their life, to be in safety: yes far the greatest

(l) Tradesmen and Shop-keepers.

(m) Journeymen and Labourers.

(n) Lovers and Eggars.

greatest part of Shop-keepers, or in truth (for it should rather be so said) that whole Rank is very fond of peace; for all their Tools, all their day-labour and gain is supported by the populousness of the Towns, and cherished by peace; whose gain, if it be impaired at the Shutting up of their Shops, what would become of it, at the burning of them?

18. Which things being so, my Lords, you do not want the Guards of the Roman People, look to it, that ye be not thought wanting to the People of Rome. You have a Consul reserved from many dangers and plots, and from the midst of death; not for his own life, but for your safety: All Ranks do conspire in mind, affection, endeavour, courage and voice, to preserve the State: The common Countrey, beset with

with Fire-brands, and the Weapons of the unnatural Conspiracy, humbly holds forth her hand to you: To you commends her self, to you the life of all her Citizens, to you the Tower and Capital, to you the Altars of the Household Gods, to you the continual and everlasting Fire of (o) Vesta, to you all the Temples and Oratories of the Gods, to you the Battlements and Houses of the City. Besides, this day you must pass judgment upon your own Lives, the Breath of your Wives and Children, the Fortunes of all, your Houses and Healths.

But you have a Leader, regarding you, forgetting himself, an opportunity not always given. You have all Ranks, all Men, all the Roman People, which in a Civil Case we now first behold in one and the same mind. Consider,

(o) There was no Image of Vesta, but a fire burning constantly on the Altar, and kept by Virgins. A Custom that seems to have been derived from the Chaldeans, who worshipped Fire.

der; how one Night has almost confounded an Empire; founded with what Labours? A liberty established upon what Valour? Fortunes improved and raised, by what bounty of the Gods? That such a thing may never hereafter be not onely effected, but contrived; you must this day provide. Nor have I spoken all this to press you, who in your affections do almost out-run me: but that my voice, which ought to be leading in the Government, may appear to have discharged the duty of a Consul.

20. Now before I come home to my Vote, I'll premise a word concerning my self. I see that I have drawn upon my self so great a multitude of Enemies as is the Party of the Conspirators, which you perceive to be very great; but I judge to be base and weak, contemptible

temptible and lost. But if in any time to come that Parry, headed by the fury and treachery of any person, shall come to be more prevalent than your Honour and that of the State; yet I shall never repent, my Lords, of my Actions and Counsels: For *Death*, with which perchance they menace me, is appointed for all; but so great a praise of life, as you by your Acts have honoured me with, no one has attained to: For, ye have voted to all others alwayes Thanks for having *well-served*; but to me alone, for having *preserv'd* the State.

21. Let that *Scipio* be renowned, by whose Conduct and Valour *Hannibal* was obliged to face about into *Africa* and quit *Italy*: Let the other *Africanus* be adorned with excellent praise, who razed two Cities most incensed a-

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gainst

gainst this Empire, *Carthage* and *Numantia*: Let *Lu. Pankus* be accounted an extraordinary person, whose Chariot, the once most puissant and noble King *Perfes* honoured: Let *Marins* be in eternal renown, who freed *Italy* from Siege and the fear of Bondage: Let *Pompey* be advanced beyond them all, whose actions and gallantries are contained in the same Countreys and Bounds, as the course of the Sun: There will be in truth amidst the praises of these persons, some room for our Glory: unless perchance it (p) be more to open us Provinces, whether we may escape; than to look that they that are absent, may have a place, whether they may return victorious.

(p) A plain Allusion to the Complement that Pompey put upon Cicero coming to congratulate him at his return from the overthrow of *Mithridates*; when in the hearing of many he said he should have lost his labour in bringing up

a Third Tri-

umph, had not Tully oblig'd the State by preserving a place wherein he might Triumph; for it might be supposed that this Oration was finish'd afterwards, when publish'd by Tully.



22. Although in one point the Condition of a Foreign Victory is better than that of a Domestical one; because Outlandish Enemies either are subdued and brought into bondage, or reconciled, and judge themselves obliged by that favour. But they which from the Rank of Citizens, depraved by some false Principle, are once turned Enemies to their Country, when you have put them by their mischievous intentions, you can neither by Force restrain, nor by any kindness reconcile: Wherefore I see I have entred into an implacable quarrel with revolted Citizens, which yet I have good confidence may be by your and all honest mens assistance, and throw the memory of those great dangers, which shall alwayes stick not onely in this people, which has been preserved, but also in

the discourses and minds of all Nations, fairly beaten off from me and mine. Nor indeed shall there ever be found any so great power which can infringe and shake the Union that is between you and the Roman Knights, and such an harmony of all the well-affected.

23. Which things being so, my Lords, instead of a Generalship of an Army, of a Government, which I have neglected; Instead of a Triumph and other Badges of Praefecture, which have been slighted by me, in regard of the Cities and your preservation: Instead of Clients and Provincial Friendships, which yet with my Estate in Town, I do with no less labour support than purchase: Instead therefore of all these things, and in reward of my singular affections towards you, and for this diligence, which ye behold in preserving the State,  
I

I require nothing more of you, but the remembrance of this time and my whole Consulship, which, while it shall continue fixed in your minds, I shall judge my self incircled with a most impenetrable wall. But if the (p) violence of of the ill-affected, shall deceive and over-match my expectation, I commend to you my little (q) Son, who assuredly shall have guard enough, not onely for preservation, but also for honour, if ye shall remember, that he is his Son, who has alone at his own peril preserved the whole State.

(p) Two years after Tully was banish'd upon the score of this having executed the Conspirators, by P. Clodius, and eighteen years after had his Head and Hands cut off by the Son-in law of P. Lentulus, M. Antony.

(q) Octavius Augustus accordingly in pro-

cess of time took M. Tullius, Cicero's Son, to be his Colleague in the Consulship, and gratifi'd him with liberty to throw down a'l the Statues of M. Antony, and to enact that none of the Family of the Antonies should ever after be nam'd Mark.

24. Wherefore, My Lords, Resolve cautiously, as ye have begun, and stoutly, concerning your own

own and the Roman Peoples Being,  
 that lies at Stake, concerning your  
 Wives and Children, concerning  
 your Temples and Religious Places,  
 concerning the Houses and Mansions  
 of the whole City, concerning Em-  
 pire and Liberty, concerning the  
 safety of Italy, and concerning the  
 whole Common-wealth; for ye have  
 a Consul, who shall never dispute to  
 follow your Orders, and is able,  
 whatsoever you shall decree, as long  
 as he shall live, to defend and by his  
 own interest maintain.

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F I N I S.

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